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ABSTRACT

The collection of ten essays by Native Americans who are involved in Indian education includes a preface by Thomas Thompson; "The Indian Student Amid American Inconsistencies" by Vine Deloria, Jr.; "Growing Up in E'da How-One Idaho Girlhood" by LaNada Boyer; "Multicultural Teacher Education at Rough Rock" by Dillon Platero; "Interracial Politics: The Pressure to Integrate an Experimental School" by Jerome Buckanaga; "Why Do Indian Students Drop Out of College?" by Arthur McDonald; "Indian 'Head Start' Programs--the Child in the Process of Becoming" by Faye Reeves, Gretchen Peniska, and Jean Heemstra; "Native American Studies, the University, and the Indian Student" by Henrietta V. Whiteman; "An Ideal School System for American Indians--A Theoretical Construct" by Patricia Locke; "The Education of Indians and the Mandate of History" by Rosemary Ackley Christensen and William G. Demmeret; and "Teachers for Indian Children" by Roger Wilson. Appendices include "A Chronology of Pivotal Dates in Indian Education 1568-1975", capsule profiles of Indian education organizations, a list of American Indian community colleges, a list of treaties dealing with Indian education, and a select bibliography. The document is illustrated with a number of photographs. (SB)

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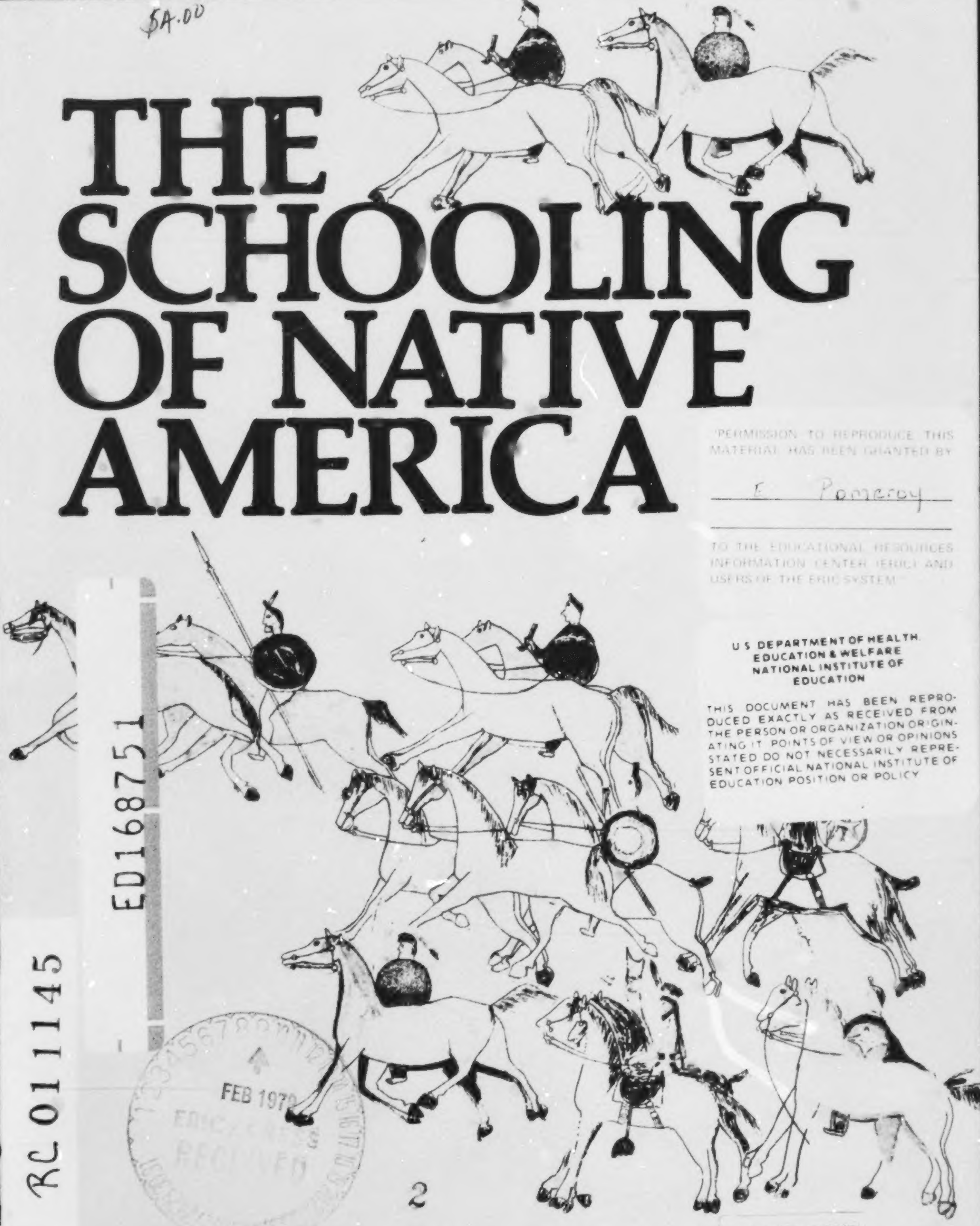

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This book of essays is the result of the work of many hands and the sweat of many brows. The effort was begun in 1973 by the Teacher Corps, then under the direction of Dr. Louise White. Dr. White's decision to sponsor the first Native American Teacher Corps Conference reflected programmatic commitment to Indian education; without such commitment, this book could not have come about. The decision to share the proceedings of that conference, in the form of these essays, outside Teacher Corps is a testimony to the enduring worth of these monographs, for they do significantly contribute to the analysis and clarification of issues attendant to improving the educational opportunities of Indian children everywhere — not just in Teacher Corps projects. The contribution inherent in these essays still receives recognition, commitment, and support from Teacher Corps. Despite the Teacher Corps' programmatic commitment, however, this task would not exist without the determined perseverance and coordinating abilities of Paul Collins.

A note of special thanks is due to Richard LaCourse, a moving force in the founding of the American Indian Press Association, in the initial editing of this volume.

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Finally, we are indeed grateful to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in helping to give these ideas broad dissemination to the general educational community.

William L. Smith
Director, Teacher Corps
August, 1978

FOREWORD

The AACTE's commitment to multicultural education is reflected in this significant publication. We believe that it serves several important functions: (a) It is a dynamic expression of what Native Americans believe about desirable schools and the personnel who should staff them; (b) It provides those of other racial-ethnic backgrounds with an understanding of history, culture, and education through the eyes and feelings of Native Americans; (c) It proposes specific agendas for redressing wrongs and for attaining the potentialities of a multicultural society, particularly through multicultural education.

This publication is both a scholarly document and a manifesto of convictions. It shares facts and feelings which can lead to the attainment of full rights, opportunities, and citizenship for Native Americans. It is part of a continuing effort by AACTE, especially its Commission on Multicultural Education, to provide leadership, information, and resources for multicultural education.

Collaboration with the Teacher Corps in publishing this book does not imply endorsement of all viewpoints expressed by the writers. Rather, the Association is publishing it as a means of stimulating thought and action on the important topic of quality, relevant education for Native Americans.

We acknowledge with appreciation the contributions of the many persons who made this publication possible: the staff of Teacher Corps — Washington and Teacher Corps networks, scholars who reviewed the manuscript, and most of all the Native Americans who contributed generously of their time and talents to produce their message of heart and mind.

Edward C. Pomeroy
Executive Director, AACTE
August, 1978

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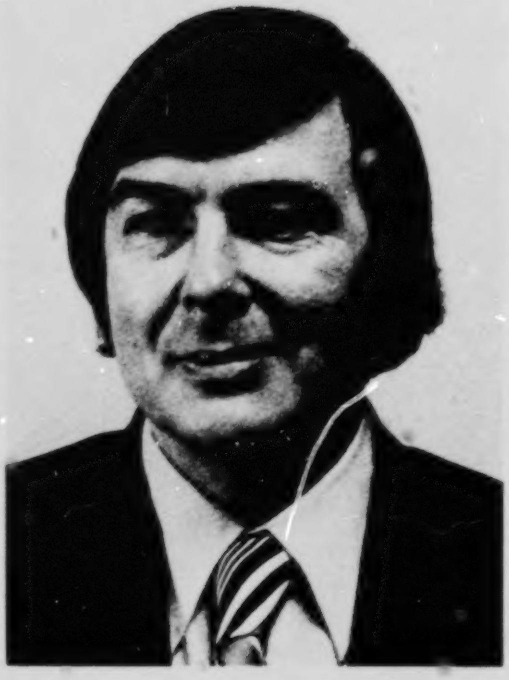


Thomas Thompson, the Director of the Eastern Montana Teacher Corps Project, coordinated the first Native American Teacher Corps Conference in Denver, Colorado. He is Chairman of the President's National Advisory Council on Indian Education. A member of the Blackfeet Tribe, he has served as educational consultant to many Indian education organizations and groups in Alaska, the Midwest, and in Washington, D.C. Locally, he is Coordinator of Federal Programs in School District #9 of Billings, Montana, and is engaged in research for his Ph.D. at the University of North Dakota.

PREFACE

In a decade characterized by a search for roots by this nation's minorities, it is indeed ironic that the only people who can claim roots on this native soil should be involved in such a search.

Yet this is the case today for the Native American. His roots on this continent were wrenched from him along with his land, and his identity was systematically eradicated in a shameful history of domination by missionaries and the federal government.

In fact, it was not until a new sense of social justice and national conscience grew with the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s that the American ear gained the sensitivity to hear the quiet, dignified protest of its native peoples.

Our present decade, by contrast, is one in which Indians have an opportunity to gain self control and self determination for the first time since the white man began his aggressive and often ruthless colonization of this continent.

Today, Indians are wresting control of their social, economic, religious and political institutions away from non-Indians. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the field of education. There is general recognition that the schooling of Native America should be in the hands of Indians.

This volume consists of essays by Native Americans who are intimately involved in Indian education. All of these professionals, educators and scholars are deeply committed to the continuity of Native American identity and culture. Assembled at the first Native American Teacher Corps Conference in 1973, they shared their varied experiences. These essays are the outgrowth of that historic meeting. They discuss the problems and challenges in Indian education today, from the need for political mobilization to the planning and administration of Indian demonstration schools and programs in Native American studies. Their analyses demonstrate deep feeling, commitment and a keen understanding of the unique cultural differences between Indians and non-Indians.

To fully appreciate these differences and the significance of the present movement, we must review the historical record, returning to times when Native Americans controlled their own affairs.

Before the advent of the white man, Indian education rested in the hands of ancestral tribal cultures. As Henrietta Whiteman wryly observes in her essay:

> Contrary to popular belief, education — the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and skills — did not come to the North American continent on the Nina, Pinta and Santa Maria. . . .
>
> We Native Americans have educated our youth through a rich oral tradition, which was — and is today — transmitted by the elders of the tribe.

Indeed, as we read these essays, we become poignantly aware that the "old ways" of the tribal elders were highly evolved, and reflect a sophistication of conscience that is only beginning to emerge in America today.

We learn that there were no orphans in the old Indian tribes. Through a concept of extended families, child rearing and education were the responsibility of many appointed "uncles" and "aunts". This social and educational system provided the Indian young with many parent-teachers, and obviated the contemporary American societal need for orphanages and day care centers.

This system also impressed the young with a sharp sense of communal responsibility, evidenced by the fact that there was no poverty as we know it today in the old tribes. Through an even-handed sense of social justice, Native American tribal customs determined a redistribution of wealth so that no one in the tribe went hungry or homeless. It was considered a civic duty for richer members of the tribe to share their wealth with poorer members. Community responsibility was evidenced in a form of "guaranteed income" for all members of the tribe, so that an Indian's inalienable rights included food and shelter, a concept the American majority is still struggling with today.

Perhaps nowhere is the compassion and wisdom of the Native American culture better exemplified than in its attitude toward criminal justice. There was no "crime" as such in the Indian tribe, as there was no word that conceptualized "criminal". The closest Indians came, as lawyer Vine Deloria Jr. points out, is the word "transgressor". Recognizing the corporate nature of society, Indians were more interested in making compensation to the victim and spreading the loss of crime over all members of society. This extended even to the "transgression" of murder. As Deloria notes:

> More often the family of the murdered person would adopt the murderer. The murderer had to become a member of the family to replace the person he killed. The idea behind this tradition was that society had suffered enough by the loss of one of its members. Killing in vengeance would only compound the crime against society over and above the crime against the family.

In a time in which the concept of compensation for the victim is just emerging in the western legal tradition, and capital punishment is still a volatile issue, we have much to learn from our ancient Indian brothers.

Indeed, in every area of growing social consciousness we find precedents in the early Native American experience. In a time of ''Women's Lib'' and confusion of those who fear displacement of sexual roles and responsibilities, we can learn much from the esteem and respect Indians have shown their women. Family property was often owned by women, and matriarchs were highly respected advisory counselors to tribal chiefs. One wonders how many wars would be waged today if the child-bearing sector of our population were in positions of authority.

Indian elders also developed a keen understanding of ecology and land stewardship in their young; in the last decade, these issues have brought the Indian presence and precedent to the awareness of the majority of Americans. With that awareness came the shocking disclosures of neglect of and indifference toward the Native American in our own time. The statistics were staggering.

Jerome Buckanaga in his essay on Interracial Politics quotes Senator Walter Mondale who told Congress in 1969 of events at the Pine Point School in Ponsford, Minnesota:

> Two teenage suicides and seven attempted suicides in the last ten months; 18 local Indian youths incarcerated in state correctional institutions; another 27 on probation; a high school dropout rate of 78 percent and an average daily attendance rate of only 51 percent.

Mondale summed it up saying:

> There is little to be proud of about a system in which 25 percent of the teachers of Indian students admit they prefer not to teach Indians. There is little to be proud of about a system which ignores the Indian half the time and demeans him the rest.

How did the schooling of Native America get into this deplorable state? To understand this fully we must check further into the historical record.

From the arrival of the white man up until the last two decades, Indian education has rested in the hands of church and state. Through their combined influence, the Native American has been systematically denied his Native identity. Two eras emerge: the period of missionary domination from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and the period of federal government domination from the late nineteenth until the mid-twentieth century.

In 1611, the predominantly French Society of Jesus became the first group to bring European educational disciplines to Native Americans. Active in the Great Lakes region and along the St. Lawrence and Mississippi rivers, they were the precursors of Spanish Franciscans who accompanied the conquistodores into New Mexico, Texas, Arizona and California. These European religious groups created mission communities and schools for the Indian populations. English Protestants began establishing schools and colleges for the education of Indian and English youth on the eastern coast in 1617. Throughout the late eighteenth century, the Central Midwest and Pacific Northwest were partitioned among competing Christian denominations for the twin purposes of Christianizing and civilizing "savage", "unsaved" Indian populations.

The fervor of Christianization increased with the Great Religious Awakening spearheaded in the east and midlands in the early nineteenth century. At that time the Old and New Testments were translated into many Indian tongues, bringing a printed language to the various tribes.

Competing Christian sects vied for control of Indian education with governmental blessings. As early as 1819, Congress appropriated money to missionary societies and to individuals in the forefront of the effort to Christianize Indians. This policy remained in effect until 1873, when public protest over violation of the principle of separation of church and state forced its termination.

By that time, however, irreparable changes had been made. By replacing the Great Spirit with Jehovah, the Native American was stripped of his very core beliefs and cultural mores. In altering and ultimately outlawing his spiritual practices, missionaries effectively broke the Indian spirit. Gone were the tribal myths and heroes with whom the Native American youth could identify. In their place, Christian schools gave the Indian classical Greek myths and Judeo-Christian heroes.

Along with Christian theology, mission schools taught Western European theories of human nature and society. These displaced the Native American even more by thrusting him into a foreign frame of reference. Little wonder the Indian experienced a strong sense of alienation. Thus the seeds were planted for the social ills the Indian is heir to in our time. Yet as LaNada Boyer perceptively argues in her moving biographical essay:

> An Indian education curriculum with emphasis on Indian religious values could readily solve drinking and suicidal tendencies threatening our future.

If the mission schools started the process of alienation, the federal government completed it with the policy of assimilation in the late nineteenth century. Its goal was the total absorption of Indian youth into the mainstream of American life. Its fruits were a further loss of unique Indian qualities and cultural identity.

This assimilation policy was advanced through government schools. In 1879 the federal government created Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, the first of its Indian institutes. This was followed in 1884 by the Indian Training School at Lawrence, Kansas, which later became the Haskell Institute.

Precedents for such action had already existed. As early as 1842 there were 37 Indian schools run by the federal government. In the 1880s their number was rapidly increased to 106. This was facilitated in 1882 by an ironic governmental action providing that abandoned military posts, the most oppressive symbol of federal domination, be turned over to the Interior Department as schools for Indian children. No building could have caused more trauma to the Indian young than these schools within military installations.

Native Americans were "absorbed" into the mainstream at these institutions through militaristic rules, harsh discipline and compulsory attendance, along with a curriculum emphasizing industrial and vocational training. In 1916 a uniform course of study in all federal schools which ignored the unique cultural heritage of the Native American was established.

By the 1920s it was evident to policy-makers that the federal Indian school system was overcrowded, unsuited to Indian students in terms of work and study programs, deficient in health and food services, and excessively rigid in discipline.

A Senate probe resulted in the famed Meriam Report of 1928. This study recommended the retention of Indian children in their native communities; it condemned the practice of taking children from their families and placing them in boarding schools many miles from home. The report stressed humanitarian values, and proposed increased appropriations for Indian education. Yet the basic thinking did not veer from the policy of assimilation. The time for substantial reform had not yet come.

It came in the 1930s under Commissioner John Collier's "Indian New Deal". Educators of Indians finally moved toward recognition of cultural separateness. The aim of the new program was the acknowledgement of the unique heritage of the American Indian population. This inspired passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, which allowed for the first time the hiring of large numbers of Indians in the rapidly growing federal Indian school system. It also authorized tuition loans for Indians at vocational and trade schools. During the Collier era, day schools were established on reservations, Indian languages were revived and Indian cultural programs were begun.

However, this Indian renascence was short-lived. A sharp reversal of attitudes began after World War II. The new government policy called for unilateral termination of the special historic and treaty-bound relationship between the United States and the Indian tribes. This ushered in a dark age for the American Indian; no policy could have created greater concern among the tribes. It was a terrible threat to the little they had in land and governmental services.

By 1953 the termination policy had caused federal abandonment of nearly 60 separate Indian tribes and communities. Inhabitants were forced to relocate in cities far from their homelands. The Bureau of Indian Affairs closed all federal Indian schools in four states. In two others, the state was given full responsibility for educating Indian young. Treaties once thought inviolable became meaningless.

Out of this dark time came the seeds of resistance and mobilization. In 1944 the National Congress of American Indians, the first national Indian political union, was formed. Its members protested vehemently against termination and relocation policies to no avail. But in their protest, the unity of Native American peoples began. The seeds were sown for a renewal of self awareness and unified spirit.

These seeds bore fruit in the climate of the 1960s, when a new social consciousness allowed the allocation of new monies and programs for poorer minorities. The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 made possible the Head Start program, the Outward Bound program, the Job Corps, Vista, and a number of Indian Community Action programs. Through these came the creation of the experimental Rough Rock Demonstration School among the Navajos, the growth of which is chronicled in this volume by its director, Dillon Platero.

Amid the New Frontiers and the War on Poverty, Indians entered colleges and demanded Native American Studies programs, the rise of which is discussed here by LaNada Boyer and Henrietta Whiteman.

In this new climate Indians began to travel across the country and meet other Indians, acquiring a sophisticated awareness of Indian affairs nationally. New monies allowed the creation of new jobs; many Indian professionals returned to their homelands to devote their talents to their own people. The inherent problems of that return are also discussed in this volume.

The long stoic silence was shattered as Indians occupied Alcatraz Island and Wounded Knee. The new generation of Native Americans had seen the record and were rightfully concerned. This is manifested today in a powerful new commitment to self determination and self reliance. But is this so new after all? For in the teachings of the tribal elders self reliance was the core of the young warrior's education. And, if we think deeply on it, is not this a basic goal of any educational process?

In this spirit, it is timely to remember one prophetic historical example related by contributor Arthur McDonald.

Two years before there was a United States, in June of 1774, the Commissioners of Maryland and Virginia invited their Indian neighbors to attend William and Mary College. The next day the Indians declined the offer in the following manner:

> We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men while with you would be very expensive to you. We are convinced that you mean to do us good by your proposal, and we thank you heartily.
>
> But you who are wise must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things, and you will, therefore, not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours.
>
> We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the College of the Northern Provinces. They were instructed in all your sciences. But when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods . . . Neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing.

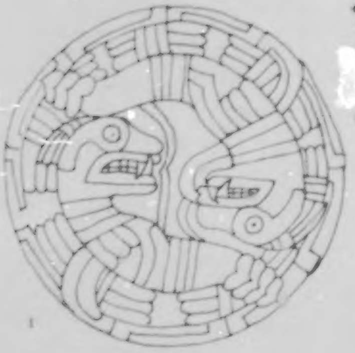
It is good that Native Americans, after all that has been done to and for them in the name of education in the last two hundred years, are now returning to this spirit of self reliance.

Thomas Thompson
Browning, Montana
August, 1978

Vine Deloria Jr., although the holder of a University of Colorado law degree, is best known as the author of *Custer Died for Your Sins, We Talk, You Listen*, and *God is Red*. A member of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe, he served as an expert witness at the four "Wounded Knee" trials. Among his many activities on behalf of fellow Native Americans are his work in founding the Institute for the Development of Indian Law in Washington, D.C. and his representation of their interests as a consultant on the movie *Soldier Blue*.

THE INDIAN STUDENT AMID AMERICAN INCONSISTENCIES

Vine Deloria Jr.

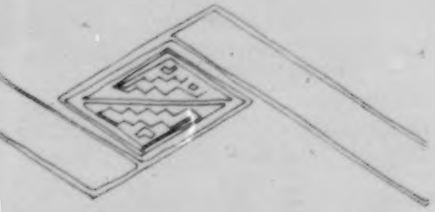


HOW DOES A NATIVE AMERICAN DEAL WITH SOCIETY?

One of the assumptions of the American educational system is that it prepares individuals to live in society. The theory of education appears to be that if every individual receives adequate preparation in the basic facts of western man's existence he or she can thereafter function as a useful and law-abiding citizen of the nation. Education as the basis for democracy has been a favorite thesis throughout the centuries of American existence, and the free public school is a tangible demonstration of this belief.

However, as one looks around American society today, in the wake of the Watergate scandal of the Nixon administration, the old belief in the saving virtue of education has been sadly shaken. The smartest and best educated men are busy stealing from each other. The federal government is for sale to the highest bidder. And the corporate mind with its carrot stick of profit wanders down the road of social and ecological destruction while television commercials convince it that all is well. The informed citizenry, beneficiaries of free public education, remain locked in profound ignorance and seem incapable of caring. Even language has become so corrupted as to be meaningless. No public official lies anymore, he simply has a "credibility gap." People are not murdered, they are "wasted," or, in the case of the CIA, "terminated under extreme circumstances."

In such a society, the best learned lessons are not those of the classroom, but those of the political caucus. Unless one finds salvation in the political machinations of his group, he can hardly find salvation at all. As a result, we have not only the manipulations of corporations and political parties, but the recent power movements in minority groups which indicates that every facet of American social existence is now determined by power exercised with contempt toward anyone who questions its use.



Such a state of affairs should not be unexpected. The very basis of American educational theory lacks moral and ethical content. It does not speak of relationships between people and groups of people. It merely provides sufficient tools for individuals to use to climb the ladder of social, economic, academic and military pyramids without regard to the means used to achieve the ends. Little can be said about the way things ought to be. Social sciences simply describe the manner in which they operate, given the conditions under which they arise.

In this whirlpool of disorder, Indian education is supposed to orient Indian children to the mysteries of the world of the white man. It is supposed to teach him respect for law and order while he watches the law being blatantly violated before his eyes. He is taught to revere knowledge while watching incompetents achieve startling success. He is taught to expect equal opportunity while he knows that he will be denied that opportunity because of his race. The major task of Indian education is to reduce the dropout rates which translated means keep them in school longer and feed them more lies.

Indian education has been built upon the premise that the Indian had a great deal to learn from the white man; the white man representing the highest level of achievement reached in the evolutionary process. The white man's religion was the best, his economics superior, his sense of justice the keenest, his knowledge of history the greatest. The Indian's task was to consume bits and pieces of the white man's world in the expectation that some day he would become as smart.

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The totality of the white man's knowledge was supposed to encompass the wisdom of the ages, painfully accumulated by a series of brilliant men.

In the old treaty-signing days, many Indians came to feel that perhaps this superior knowledge gave the white man his right to do what he did. Bows and arrows were useless against guns. Ponies could not outrun trains. Iron kettles were superior to earthen pots and hides. So education provisions were written into the treaties, and from tribe to tribe people began to slowly change their ways to conform to the white man's way of doing things. The expectation that one day the fuzzy picture would clear and the Indian would stand as equal to the white man grew over the generations. Today, when we are asked what our problems are, we continue to reflect this ancient belief. "Give us more education," we cry, "and we can become self-sufficient."

But there is a real question that we have failed to examine when we talk about education as the answer to our problems. What is education? What is it that we must learn if we are to adjust to the society in which we find ourselves? To answer this question we must probe back into the beginnings of the Western mind and discover, if possible, the basis for advocating free public education. I believe that we can find part of our answer in the influence of the Christian religion, which taught Westerners how to think about society, the world, and the individual person. Christianity has given Western society confidence in itself so that it refuses to examine premises and sees no need to go into a reconsideration of its fundamental truths on the nature of the world.

The Western mind is dependent upon two types of thought, Greek and Hebrew, which have been intertwined to form the Christian scheme of things as brought to this country. Greek philosophy traditionally emphasized the pursuit of knowledge by the individual who received a divine call to seek knowledge. Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle all made efforts to elaborate a basic theory of the world in which the individual's concentration was on revealing the true nature of the world — the search for ultimate reality. Western science inherited the Greek tendency to classify and categorize facts into systematic fields of knowledge. Behind this tendency is the idea that by knowing all of the facts of existence an individual can achieve the wisdom necessary to understand himself and his society. Yet when Platonic philosophy was put into effect in Syracuse, it turned out to be a disaster.

The other aspect of Western thought is the Christian emphasis on individual salvation. The message of the early church, and the message of many "Fundamentalist" Christians today, is that the individual can be saved from the evils of the world by uncritical acceptance of the facts of the Christian religion. By affirming belief a Christian is "saved" from whatever demons inherit and inhabit the earth. This philosophy is completely divorced from the realities of the world, for it does not take into account the inter-workings of groups of men as they form the communities in which they live. Inherent in the Christian religion is the idea that if every individual behaves to the best of his ability, the conglomerate of individuals will act morally and ethically towards one another and towards other societies with which they have contact.

Present day educators still depend upon the Greco-Christian assumptions concerning the nature of man and the world. Much of the academic pursuit in American universities simply measures the events of society rather than concerning itself with the problems of individuals acting in that society. The assumption that an individual will become a useful member of society, given sufficient data concerning the world, and with purity of heart towards subject matter, remains the basic thesis behind public education.

The Western mind has never questioned the fact that human beings appear to act differently in groups than they do when acting alone. Nor has it ever found the solitary individual who acts in the manner which Western thinking projects. Man is always found in groups. To find a solitary individual one would have to travel to the far corners of the earth and discover a hermit. Such a person would naturally have few ethical or moral dilemmas, since these arise in conjunction with normal contact with people.

When this attitude toward knowledge is made the chief factor in determining the nature of education, we have a phenomenon in which the facts of the world are taught without regard to the relationships which they share with one another. Thus, we learn about the nature of politics, economics, sociology, and anthropology, yet we are not told whether these fields have any relationship with each other. Western education does not concern itself with relationships, only with facts. It assumes, with no basis, that the relationships will work themselves out in some kind of divine pre-established harmony. The present state of American society testifies that such a pre-established harmony does not exist whenever a significant number of individuals are involved.

These assumptions are ill-founded and preclude any search for the real meaning of things. At best, they produce the short-term type of logic seen in Joseph Heller's *Catch-22*, in the rhetoric of the Vietnam War, and in the daily assumptions of society. Nixon did not know about Watergate because Presidents do not act that way. We have been taught propositions and have little critical apparatus to refute them.

The struggles of the 1960's over new concepts of social justice have been largely waged on the basis of the old logic which was part and parcel of the Western educational system. Integration meant that everyone had to be the same. But the failure to define that *same* meant the eventual downfall of the theory of integration. The black community after passage of civil rights legislation awoke to find themselves still black, still bound to the ghettos, and still discriminated against. The assumption with the civil rights movement was that by forcing people to respect the new laws, equality could be achieved. It was a simple matter to bypass those laws and establish new relationships of racism, more sophisticated than before, which returned many of the same behavioral patterns to the way that the white majority wished them.

American society has been based upon the strong, mystical belief in the salvation of the individual citizen. When the midwestern cities were less than 50,000 this belief had some validity. It was possible to grade the opportunities and efforts for self-government according to the peculiarities of the city. Now many cities are approaching a half million or more people, and have inherited all of the problems formerly considered to be mental diseases of the Eastern establishment. The rugged individualism of the old America has been replaced with the large corporate conglomerate. The old family grocery store, gas station, farm, or business has fallen victim to the intrusions of the corporation. The distribution system of the nation makes it impossible for a single business or family to survive as a unit. The communications media act to homogenize us to certain ways of thinking which create a "herd" instinct for survival, far different from the way we were taught to believe.

The chief proof of the value of the old individualism was the ability of the system to point out rugged individuals it produced. Those the system has produced in recent years are hardly fit to be applauded. People are having an increasingly difficult time finding American greatness today. Instead the cynicism and despair on every side indicates that the ideal conception of American history as an irresistible march of progress has been largely debunked.

The justification for the displacement of the American Indian in American history courses went right along with the old belief in progress and rugged individualism. Indians had to be replaced to create the great society of which we are the beneficiaries. But today, with increased awareness of poverty, racism, ecological disaster and political corruption, it is no longer possible to justify actions taken by the American social or political system.

People are looking to the educational system to retrieve them from their mindless wandering and sense of disaster. The educational system tightens its belt and starts to gather even more data on the state of society which only increases the sense of hopelessness and loss that people feel. Progress has reversed itself. Advertisements tell us the oil companies and auto manufacturers are trying to reverse their destructive impact on American life. By lessening their destruction on our lives, these corporations proclaim they are making progress. Progress is thus measured by how little damage we do; not by how many creative things are accomplished.

Within this general feeling of social confusion a number of ideas have been advanced which give hope to those keen enough to perceive them. The trend in recent court decisions has been to emphasize the interest of society over the interests of the private corporation or state. Civil rights cases are more frequently framed in terms of class actions rather than in seeking redress for individuals. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas' dissent in the case of *Sierra Club. vs. Morton* even raises the question of whether a natural feature such as a canyon can have legal standing to protect itself against exploitation from developers. These ideas are relatively new, and the concern of lawyers and judges to give groups of people, and even natural landmarks, status in the eyes of the law would indicate a new conception of the world is being born.

What we are seeking in the field of law with the development of public interest law firms, class actions, and ecological suits is a shift from the absolute rights of the individual and his property, to an emphasis on the values and concerns of groups of people.

Perhaps no better example can be made than the recent case involving the education of the Amish children in Wisconsin. In *Yoder vs. State*, which was decided in the Supreme Court in 1971, the state of Wisconsin argued that it was the best custodian of the morals and values of society, and that the Amish had to bow to the state board of education and allow their children to be educated in public schools.

The Supreme Court pointed out, to the embarrassment of the state of Wisconsin, that the traditions, customs, and beliefs of the Amish, when consistently followed, produced a society in which broken marriages, juvenile delinquency, poverty and crime were virtually unknown. When the Amish record was balanced against that of Wisconsin it became apparent that the Amish values were far superior to those of the state of Wisconsin. This important case set a precedent; the parallel here with tribal communities is obvious. If we can show that our customs, traditions, and beliefs are a vital part of our community life and have the effect of reducing or eliminating statistics of poverty and failure which presently characterize them, we could remove ourselves from the effects of the society around us. Perhaps the chief difference between Indian communities and the Amish is that for a century we have been denied the right to practice our customs and traditions. We have not kept them alive and have not used them to hold our communities together. They do not have much place in our lives today and are too often regarded as relics of the past. Thus we are trapped into being recipients of the American educational system.

Another important development in the legal field is the emerging sense of justice which seeks to create compensation for crimes rather than retribution. The traditional sense of justice is the *Old Testament* idea of "an eye for an eye." This concept, just short of savagery, has been the favorite of Protestant America, which has had a major influence in legal interpretation and development of penalties for criminal law. Intimately related is the issue of abolishing the death penalty. Conservatives are trying desperately to reinstate the death penalty despite overwhelming testimony that it does not deter murder. They are willing that a few innocent people be killed so long as they can kill those they are certain are guilty of murder. Such an attitude is pre-*Old Testament*, since even God was willing to spare Sodom and Gomorrah for the presence of ten righteous men.

Criminal law developed as a means of the state protecting the property of individual citizens. There was no attempt to force compensation on the victims of a crime by the state. A victim could sue in civil court if he had the means. But in general the tendency was to use the laws and institutions of the state to punish the perpetrator of the crime, while leaving the victim uncompensated. Today the idea of compensation for the victim has been discussed in the U.S. Congress and in several states and numerous proposals have been introduced to make compensation a chief part of criminal law on both the state and federal levels.

The idea of spreading the loss of a crime over the members of a society is not a part of the Western tradition of law, where every man is responsible only for his crimes. Western nations had no idea of the corporate nature of society in which the corporate nature of guilt and responsibility was recognized. These ideas are derived basically from the tribal conceptions of society. In a great many tribes, retribution was the last step in the process of settling the criminal nature of murder. More often the family of the murdered person would adopt the murderer. The murderer had to become a member of the family to replace the person he killed. The idea behind this tradition was that society suffered enough by the loss of one of its members. Killing in vengeance would only compound the crime against society over and above the crime against the family.

Compensation for lesser crimes was a way of life in nearly every Indian tribe. It did not make sense to jail a person for infringement of tribal customs. It was sufficient punishment for the tribe to know about the crime. Duty, under the laws of many tribes, was for the relatives of the criminal to compensate the victim or his family for the rash act of the criminal. It would be even more accurate to speak of *transgressor*, since the very conception of "criminal" is foreign to the customs of most tribes.

In the field of law when we speak of the differences between Indian customs and the laws of the white man, we are speaking of two different systems of thought. What we are seeing at the present time is the breakdown of the white man's concepts and the gradual substitution of the old Indian concepts in their place. The old theory of punishment and individual rights is being replaced by acknowledgement of the whole social order. We see a shift from factual law to relationship law, and the emphasis is becoming more of a concern for the totality of society and not for its individual parts. Tribal customs, which were debunked as primitive, are going to be seen as more sophisticated than anyone imagined. The law will, in the future, be Indianized rather than "civilized" because the conception of civilization has ironically become too primitive for modern society.

In the field of economics, a major breakthrough being discussed is the guaranteed annual income. The idea has had support from both conservatives and liberals, and substantial merit when one considers that at every level of existence there are subsidies made available to parts of society by government programs. Corporations get tax breaks, small companies get special tax rates, and individuals get a variety of subsidies from guaranteed banking under the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation to the Federal Housing Authority. Postage, food, and airlines are subsidized. Indeed, everyone is subsidized in some way.

It remains but a step forward, when the nature of subsidy is finally and fully accepted, to the guaranteed annual income as part of the general federal social program. At that point we will be far away from the old conservative, Christian idea that God looks out for those who help themselves. This theory was incorporated into the Western viewpoint during the days of the post-Reformation period, when affluence was considered a divine sign that the individual was one of the Elect. The argument went that God chose a certain number of people before the beginning of the world to be saved and to be wealthy during their time on earth. By following the Christian virtues of hard work, singleminded purpose, and piety, the Elect would naturally prosper. With the theory of evolution, the scientific establishment transformed that idea into jungle law: the survival of the fittest. The presence of inherited wealth has never been considered by the conservative as cheating the basic premise of both the salvation of the Chosen and the survival of the fittest. Yet this dualistic theory of individualism was justified only in those that survived. It never questioned what happened to those that did not.

When the guaranteed annual income eventually becomes a reality it will be said that a human being has the right to the irreducible satisfaction of food and shelter as well as the right to civil existence under law. And it will be considered a major breakthrough for Western man to have advanced to this degree of sophistication. Yet the idea is not new, except to Western traditions. Paul Radin, a noted anthropologist, finds that the right to food and shelter was the basic fact of Indian tribal existence. It was the level beyond which a human being could not be reduced in any Indian tribe.

Rather than learning about the benefits of Western capitalism in the educational process, one would do better to learn about the old Indian customs and traditions. Spend time meditating on the means by which such ideas can be transformed into political and economic reality in contemporary America. Recognize again the collective or group nature of social existence.

In recent years there has been terrible concern about the ecological disasters visited upon our planet. College students insanely protested by burying new cars with great symbolic ceremonies, and donating one weekend a year to picking up the beer bottles they had deposited on the roads the night before. All vowed never again to cut down a redwood tree. Oil companies trotted out overaged and paunchy astronauts who solemnly testified on television that their oil company spent a decade developing a new gas additive which prevented air pollution. The U.S. Interior Department fired Smoky the Bear and got a new mascot, Johnny Horizon, an archetypical ecologist with an image just short of St. Francis of Assisi.

The result of this outpouring of ecological concern was the establishment of several ecological journals and the prevention of the supersonic transport jet. Yet there have been some permanent gains amid the superficiality of much of the ecological movement. The number of lawsuits by civic-minded ecological and conservation organizations has grown and the increasing problems have become more seriously considered.

The ecological movement in contemporary America has most blatantly copied the American Indian. A great deal of the sympathy for Indians derives from an acknowledgment by whites that we did not destroy the balance of nature. Our tribal values of living in harmony with the environment were much more advanced than were Western values of continual re-arrangement of natural features to benefit industrial needs. Today the ecological movement approaches but does not yet equal tribal values of maintaining a meaningful relationship between society and the land. The current concern for ecology does not yet recognize the spirit of the place, the nature of the earth, or the relationship with the other life forms which was standard belief of most tribes. It is still at the tourist stage of development. Hopefully, white men will someday recognize that certain places are holy, that a society must have a sacred ground to sink its roots and that even the smallest animals and life forms have a right to exist and can teach us things we do not know.

Another contemporary movement of note has been the women's liberation movement. The Christian religion is based upon a degradation of women beginning with the Garden of Eden myth and continuing through the *New Testament* days and the doctrines of the early Christian church. Women thus became second class citizens during the development of European political institutions; regarded not only as inferior to men, but as having no understanding of political and economic forms of social existence. In many states women still cannot sign a valid contract, cannot own property without their husbands' consent, and receive less pay than men for the same job performance.

Women's liberation is a current effort to develop a place for women in American society. But it would appear, from many of the spokeswomen for the movement, that in many ways it seeks to pretend that no distinctions exist between men and women. Thus the roles of both men and women are becoming increasingly confused. Many of the tribes, however, had special places for women. In both past and present women play an important part in the political structure of the tribe. The Iroquois clan mothers chose the chiefs of the tribe and exercised a great deal of influence over decision making. In most tribes the property of the home belonged to the woman and the children were regarded as her special responsibilities. Hardly a tribe can be found where the role of women was not revered, and where a special place was not found for them.

In spite of the pretense at civilization, American society has been unable to reconcile itself with its children. The revolts of the 1960's were a fundamental protest by the young people against the hypocrisy of their elders. Juvenile delinquency has been a continuing problem that has grown in violence and complexity. One of the efforts to reduce juvenile delinquency has been the Big Brother Program. In this program an adult unrelated to the troubled boy is appointed to talk and work with him. It is felt that troubled children do better relating to an adult who is not directly involved with daily family problems.

The Big Brother program is, of course, old hat for the Indian. Many tribes had a kinship system whereby the training and counseling of the young of both sexes was done by a more distant family member than the father or mother. Uncles on the father's side would train the boys, and aunts on the mother's side would work with the girls. At least part of the feeling behind the kinship relationships was the effort to keep the parents and the children away from a disciplinarian relationship which might injure the basic family unit.

As a means of maintaining a family and organizing societal relationships, the old tribal customs appear to be far advanced compared to the institutions of contemporary America. The kinship system worked in such a way that there were no orphans. The need for institutional care of troubled young people did not exist, because relationships of an alienated nature were not allowed to exist. The whole fabric of the tribe depended upon a complex series of relationships which bound everyone to a great many relatives who had reciprocal duties toward each other. As social problems in American society continue to increase and intensify, programs such as Big Brother will be expanded and perhaps eventually made a regular part of the social institutions.

There are a number of other developments today that portend a radical change in social thinking in America. Even the conservative desire to return the forms of government decision-making to local communities appears to be a form of political fragmentation reminiscent of the old tribal band structures. On the whole one can easily find abandonment of Western, Christian ideology, and a shifting of emphasis to social forms that are sometimes nearly identical to the customs, traditions, and beliefs of many old tribal structures. At this point, then, we must examine the field of Indian education to determine where it actually relates to the world as we know it, and as we are seeing it adapt to changing social realities.

At best, Indian education is an ill-conceived version of the worst of Protestant theological generalities cherished by conservative America. Nearly every program is based on motivation as an element of change and substantial research funds are available to determine how one "motivates" the Indian child. Yet as Lawyer P. Samuel Deloria has pointed out, motivation is trying to find a way to make someone do

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something *you* want him to do; not a process of getting someone interested in doing what *he* wants to do. The end product of schoolwork is too often mere recitation of learned facts arranged in a manner pleasing to the teacher. Thus, motivation is demonic at best and a catastrophe induced by professional ignorance at worst.

But the pattern of education thrust upon Indian children, the motivation-recitation syndrome, is good Protestant theology. One is frightened to death by tales of a burning hell, and thus motivated. One is taught the basic facts of the salvation story and asked to believe they actually happened long ago. The professional educator is chiefly concerned with running a smooth operation, not with the development of any significant complex of relationships which would orient the student toward the world he will face. If Indian education can be purged of this relic of the Reformation it would be one of the significant events of our generation. Motivation has no part in a meaningful educational process.

Another facet of Indian education traditionally held by educators is that it must be compensatory. The initial difficulty with English which most Indian children experience is interpreted as indicating a fundamental mental defect to be overcome with compensatory programs. Even the current fascination with bilingual programs does not do justice to the Native languages. It is concerned primarily with finding a new way to teach English, not a way to expand and develop either thought processes or Native languages. Classifying Indian children as needing compensatory educational programs constitutes a forfeiting of the cultural values of the Indian people.

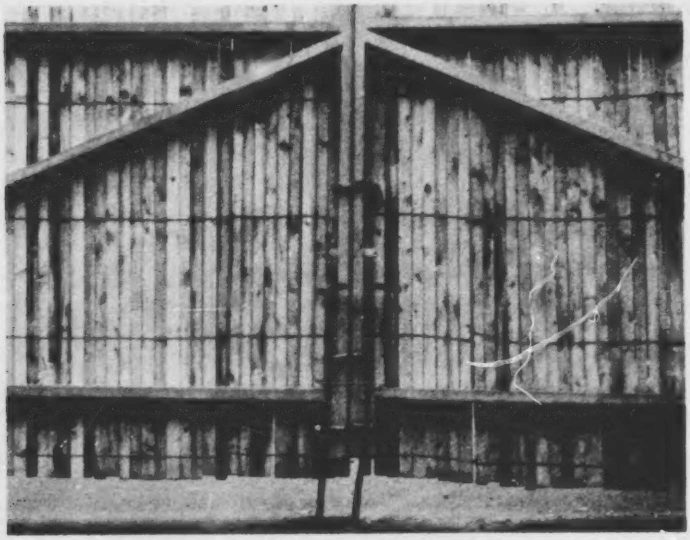
The whole idea of compensatory programs must be shifted in emphasis. The programs must come full circle and be viewed as having an integrity in themselves as vehicles of Indian cultural expression and survival. The idea of compensation involves, at its deepest level, the racial connotation that only those of white heritage are capable of civilized behavior. It further indoctrinates children into ethnocentric beliefs in which the English language appears as natural with all other languages appearing as divergent and lesser tongues. It may come as a surprise to many Americans, but a majority of the world does not speak English.

One of the less frequently articulated assumptions in Indian education is that it will give the individual Indian opportunities enjoyed by other Americans to compete in the economic realm. Education is looked upon as a sure key to employment in lucrative fields. Presently it is that key, since the majority of good jobs have qualifications which can only be satisfied by degrees and certificates. But employment opportunities are gradually shrinking as the concerns of society change from social problems to complex economic ventures. Already some jobs are far beyond the vast majority of Indian people because they involve not only education, but informal political or family alliances. Jobs in the stock market, in the upper echelons of the energy industry, in political parties, and in corporate firms with strong family traditions are already beyond the reach of all but the most unusual Indian.

Thus, to advocate education as the key to opening employment opportunities is somewhat illusory. By the same token, notice must be taken of the series of jobs which are specifically designed for Indians; jobs which cannot and should not be filled by non-Indians. Many of these are in government, and many more are going to be opening up in tribal programs and developments on or near reservations. Education must therefore be related not to a vocation in general terms, but to a vocation in specific tribal or Indian terms. We need accountants or doctors not in a general sense, but in the specific community.

Equality of opportunity in the economic field was an American truism which was rarely questioned. Today it is not only under question, but in view of our recent examples of public ethics and morality, it has become the latest of the big American lies to be exposed. Even the toughest individual apparently needs plenty of unmarked bills to ensure his success on the climb upwards.

Education for life employment has thus been taken from its basis as an individual endeavor and made into a



community need. It is being Indianized. The only problem is that Indian educators have not advanced in their thinking about goals, and the generalized and obsolete picture is still being presented to Indian children. Education must now be interpreted in a total community sense, and a sense of community responsibility must be developed in educational programs.

The final unchallenged assumption concerning Indian education is one quite frequently made by policymakers at the state and federal level which involves a complete misunderstanding of our different cultures. Indians received U.S. citizenship in 1924, and for at least the majority of this century have been relatively quiet in their protests. The majority of people in this country have come to believe that we are as natural a part of this nation as are the Pilgrims, and about as relevant. So the majority will tell you that Indians are just as good and should have the same opportunities as everyone else. So far so good. The problem is that this sense of equality is allowed to cover over the vast gulf which exists between the cultural values of the respective tribes and the rest of America. There is no cultural tradition which binds Indians to the rest of America outside of John Wayne movies and popular books on the wars of the Plains Indians. Our religious traditions are greatly divergent. Cultural attitudes toward history, language, and social forms are almost polar opposites.

Every one of us experience ways in which our behavior, cultural beliefs, and practices differ from those of the rest of society. I will give but one example. In many tribes, when a person wishes to indicate disapproval, he simply remains silent. It is not good manners to talk and disagree with a person proposing a course of action with which one disagrees. Boycott or disapproval by withdrawal is also used on the intertribal level to indicate disagreement. Anglo tradition, however, dictates a far different kind of behavior. To indicate disapproval in white society, the practice is to "Speak now or forever hold your peace." Thus tribal elections held on important policies and proposals are often misinterpreted. Traditional Indians regard them as devices of the white man and refuse to participate in them. To the Anglo, their absence is not interpreted as an Indian form of protest. When no dissenting voices are heard, Anglos assume the proposed course of action has the approval of the tribe. Often the exact opposite is true. To assume, therefore, in Indian education that learned reactions to teaching methods will indicate student involvement is foolhardy and sometimes prevents any activity from occurring at all.

One cannot rid education of Protestant ideologies without also purging the content of material of all Western overtones. In order to develop an adequate educational program for Indian children, we must change not only the techniques of teaching, but also develop a new concept of history in which the experiences of the respective tribes are related to world history and not only to certain segments of American history. Even the best current tribal histories are derived from the recorded encounters of the tribe and the white man. Little credence is given to tribal myth and folklore. These are generally greeted as primitive poetry if they are recognized at all. A comparison of tribal folklore with the Garden of Eden story places the respective tribal stories at least on a par with Western mythologies.

Native American history should be the coming new field of intellectual pursuit in our communities. It should be practiced in the academic setting, in our organizational lives, on the reservation and in urban communities. For the past century we have been intellectually overwhelmed by the absolute might of white society. We have not been able to conceive the world as it might be in the post-Western historical period.

Today we know better. American society is in one phase of collapse. It will probably not collapse altogether in the immediate future, but it will continue to make radical changes if only to survive. These changes are in the direction of a type of society which will be very compatible with the old tribal customs and traditions. Instead of continuing to accept uncritically the contentions of the Anglo historian, we should place a major emphasis on retrieving our own tribal histories, reclaim our immediate past and understand the changes which have taken place in our communities in this century. Then we can interpret these experiences, orient ourselves and project a firmer basis for community existence in the future.

It may appear difficult for some of our communities to develop a tribal history which varies from the standard history we have been taught in school. The usual method of developing a historical explanation is to relate it to interpretations of events which are already known or popularized. Thus, a tribal history may suffer the handicap of appearing to be simply an alternative version of the American history story. But just as we have never had an individual in perfect isolation, so we have never had tribes in perfect isolation. Every one of our tribes has had contact with neighbors on its borders, and their story, the complex story of how all of the tribes have related, can possibly form the basis for new tribal histories.

A good example of this can be made if one considers a history of the Sioux from the viewpoint of relationships between the Sioux and Chippewa, or the Sioux and Crow, or even the Sioux and Pawnee, rather than simply the Sioux and the invading white men. The white man, of course, comes into the story and dominates much of the discussion of wars and land cessions. But, the fact that the tribes have had continuing relationships with one another on a regional basis is a story that will buttress efforts to develop valid tribal histories.

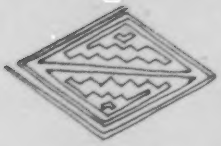
A history is merely a selected collection of facts without the human dimension to give it flesh. Thus, to develop a tribal history without making any effort to understand changing values and customs is to fall into the trap of Western historians. They pretend that cultural attitudes remain constant while change takes on a good or bad connotation as technology and natural disasters force adaptation. We must devote considerable thought to examination of where our tribes have been, how they have changed their patterns of social adjustment to conditions, and determine whether the values of the past can be translated into new patterns of action today. The translation of customs and values must be deliberate and specific. We must advocate strict establishment of some practices which we find are beneficial and have the discipline to carry them out in our own lives and community actions. In order to make this type of reordering possible we must come to an acknowledgement of what our communities actually are, not what we wish they were, or what we would like people to think they should be.

We are presently in danger of finding ourselves in great embarrassment. We tell our audiences at Indian Awareness weeks on university campuses that Indians do not worship money. Yet our tribal councils are leasing their sacred mountains for royalties, and our tribal politicians are seeking better and higher-paying jobs. Some reservation leaders are even taking advantage of their own people with favorable leases of tribal lands, appointments to special jobs and committees, and other favors. Our activists chastize the white man for his destruction of nature, and admonish people to respect the Sacred Earth Mother, while they themselves are throwing empty beer cans along the road. Many of our own communities look like junkyards, littered with old cars and destroyed buildings. While we are poor, there is no excuse for being either destructive or dirty about the way we live.

A large gap has grown between the reality of Indian life and the favorable pictures which popular books on Plain Indians invoke. People visiting reservations are justifiably puzzled at the apparent lack of concern they see in Indian communities for community life. We must find a way to institute more community activities so that our people do not find themselves victims of continued spiritual poverty.

The whole education process must be recognized as fundamentally different when one passes from white society to

Indian society. Education in white society appears to be a creator of communities. It is oriented toward the production of income-producing skills, and the housing, business, entertainment, and recreation sections of white communities reflect this fact.



But in the tribal setting, communities are the producers of education. At least they were in the past, and we can make them so today. When communities produce education, the groupings of the community reflect the charisma, wisdom, and activities of the various parts of the community. The respective activities can be viewed in relation to their importance to the community. In that way, the sacredness of the community can be protected and developed.

The best way that we can initiate this change is to begin to work on the content of education, and not on the techniques and procedures of education. We must initiate the study of tribal customs on a grand scale and they must be taught at school on an equal basis with any other academic subject. But they must not be confined to the school or classroom. They must be under constant discussion within the community itself and subject to continual and disciplined use by the people. Perhaps the first feature of revival would be to begin comprehensive studies of the old clan and kinship patterns, and establish social rules for the reinstitution of some of the old patterns of kinship responsibility. There is no good reason why we cannot expect every Indian to accept the old social responsibilities for his extended family, and why we cannot enforce social responsibilities for relatives on a deliberate and measurable scale of behavior.

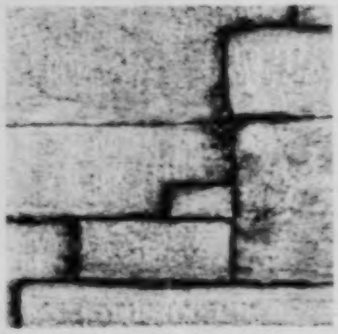
Some customs, of course, cannot be immediately instituted. The old days are gone and we must recognize that fact of existence. That does not prevent us from establishing new customs. The ceremonial "give-aways" can be redesigned to assist our poorer people. Other Indian customs of redistributing wealth can be modernized so that real economic progress is made by the community. There is no reason why the more affluent members of an Indian community could not create programs from their own resources to benefit the poor and aged. All we need do is accept the responsibility for beginning new customs, and have the intention and discipline for carrying them out.

We once lived in a world in which even the far horizons were insufficient to capture our spirits. The reservation experience has served to limit our vision to the boundaries which the government has marked out for us. We should reject such arbitrary limits and begin to visualize the reservation not as the limit of our horizon but as the center of our own universe. We must extend the network of our

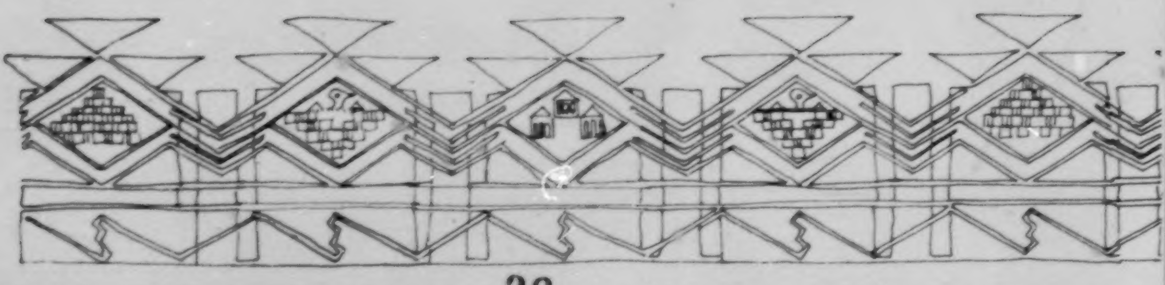
relationships from the reservations outwards, and not continue the narrow vision of the past, where our concern is only with the events and problems of the immediate community. By lifting our vision, the petty quarrels of our daily existence will be overcome by the view of our future, and our communities will begin to emerge as sacred places.

Our final task must be to transform the focus of our communities from mere political subdivisions of reservation or state structures, to centers of an ongoing cultural life. The recent development of community colleges on reservations is a significant and giant step forward in this process. One could almost project a better tribal future on the basis of their existence. We must support and expand their activities as quickly as possible, because these colleges support the basic thesis of this essay: that communities produce educational experiences.

We need not, in Indian education, concern ourselves with much subject matter previously considered important. Instead, we must have basic courses of reading, writing and arithmetic, which serve as tools for the real educational experience of learning the traditions, customs and beliefs of the tribal community. We have no use for the knowledge of the names of the Presidents of the United States, and the sequence in which they held office is certainly abstract to us. We must substitute for them a listing of the great chiefs, headmen and leaders of our communities. We must know about their lives as accurately and intimately as we know about George Washington and Abraham Lincoln. We must understand that we stand in that tradition and have a responsibility to carry it forward. If we can change our concept of education to include the specifically Indian things of life, we have only to wait and soon we shall see that we are in many ways far ahead of the rest of society.



LaNada Boyer graduated with the founding class of the Antioch School of Law in Washington, D.C. This achievement is one in a series of involvements with new and innovative projects which characterize Ms. Boyer's professional work. Before her enrollment at Antioch, she co-founded two unique organizations: the United Native Americans in San Francisco, and the Bannock-Shoshone Legal Research Project in Fort Hall, Idaho. She received a High Educational Achievement Award for her studies of the Law and Politics of the Native American at the Idaho project. A resident of Fort Hall, she works for her community as a member of the Shoshone-Bannock Tribes Tribal Council.



GROWING UP IN E'DA HOW — ONE IDAHO GIRLHOOD

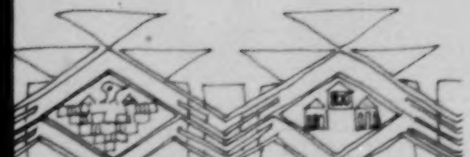
La Nada Boyer

I am from the place our people call *E'da How*. I am from the original region of my forefathers who lived here for thousands of generations. My people call themselves *Ba-na Quat*. As much as this can be translated into English, it means "the people along the water."

E'da How is the area now known as the Snake River Valley of the Rocky Mountain Range in Idaho. In Shoshonean translation, it is an expression of admiration directed to the Sun Coming Over the Mountains. The aboriginal homelands of *Ba-na Quat* consist of several geographical environments: the river bottoms of the Snake River where the Spring Creek comes from the Butte, the desert plains above the bottom lands stretching into sage covered hills, and the rugged terrain of the Rocky Mountain Range surrounding the entire location with the Sawtooth Mountains to the north and the Tetons to the east.

This area played a major historical role during the massive invasion by white people and Mormon missionaries. A fort was established at this focal point on the river bottoms and became the center of a web of trails for the white man in his continued conquest of the West. This was the beginning of the Oregon Trail, the California Trail, the Great Salt Lake and the Yellowstone.

A reservation was established during the treaty-making period called Fort Hall. The Fort Hall Reservation became the newly established home of sister tribes forcibly moved from nearby areas. This included about ten Shoshonean tribes. All of these tribes were referred to by the whites as Shoshones, and the *Ba-na Quat* as Bannocks. The people of the Fort Hall Indian Reservation of Idaho are known today as the Shoshone Bannock Tribes, Inc., a federal corporation officially recognized by the Department of the Interior of the United States government.



My parents were born during the early 1900s. Both were orphaned. My mother, a half-breed, was raised by her people on the river bottoms. My father is recorded as a full-blood, and was raised on the plains lands. Both of my parents were subjected to atrocious government boarding schools on the reservation. They were first married through tribal tradition, and were picked for each other by the parents who raised them. I was the ninth child of my father and the sixth of my mother. I also have six younger brothers and sisters, some of whom have been adopted out to other families. I was one of six brothers and sisters raised by my original parents.

My parents had been relocated by the government during World War II to do defense work in Portland, Oregon. They lived in a city setting for a few years, and both did welding on battleships. After the war was over, they came back to the reservation.

I began my existence in this life after World War II, in October of 1945. I was born in a hospital in a nearby reservation town called Blackfoot. This was a period of depression and hard struggle on the reservation for the entire Indian population.

During my childhood, I was infected with diseases and was not expected to live. Even though the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 had been passed, and the government was supposed to provide aid to Indian tribes throughout the country, medical services on the reservations were far from adequate, and many Indians died and suffered from exposure to alien diseases.

Since our area was one of the earliest to be corrupted by white people, our religion, culture, and languages were more deeply affected than in some other areas of the West. Religious indoctrination of many Christian affiliations were in effect, and U.S. governmental policies and laws had drastic and dangerous effects on our people. Our traditional tribal religion had been outlawed in its many forms, such as the Sun Dance and peyote ceremonials. It was not abnormal to be raised on the other side of the law. The effects of the white man's laws and churches were killing us; and in order to survive, we continued, with minimal speed, the traditions of our people.

Many of our people were forced to become dependent on the federal government for rations and services provided by treaty because food resources were sparse and we were starving. Because tribal religion was outlawed, many forgot the ways of our traditional medicine, and became dependent on government medical services for diseases they never knew about before.

I was among the fortunate few whose parents were hated by government school employees. My parents would rather subject themselves to the cruel and severe punishment of sadistic school employees, than go along with the forced "status quo." It was through their resistance to non-Indian culture that I was brought back to health by our traditional medicine.

I went to public school off the reservation from grades one to six and learned basic white education. My parents spoke both Bannock and Shoshone, but would not teach any of us the languages. When I started school in the first grade at age five, I spoke English and adapted well to white ways. Shoshone became my second language instead of Bannock because most of the reservation people spoke Shoshone and there were not many Bannocks left to hear the language spoken.

Despite our poverty, my mother worked hard to sew for us and make sure we were always clean. For various reasons, our family always looked like we had more than we actually did. I was never really considered by my non-Indian classmates to be "Indian" until I began junior high school when a certain dress standard was imposed on all the students. All of the girls in school were required to wear dresses except Indian girls who were allowed to wear jeans because they owned limited wardrobes. Coming from the same "limited wardrobe" category as the rest of the Indian girls, I chose to wear jeans. At first my teachers protested, and I had a choice of either conforming and remaining at the top of my class in proper attire, or being an Indian and wearing jeans. I could see the position they were trying to put me in, and rejected their intentions.

It wasn't until then that I felt the first effects of discrimination as an Indian by choice. My father always told us to be proud of being Indian. He told us the history books were not correct and he would fill in the missing parts of what had happened to our people.

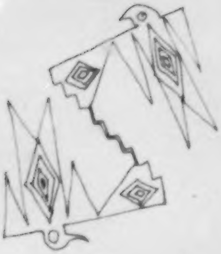
I hated school too intensely to think of trying to improve it until I started high school. Then the school authorities thought I was disrespectful and a troublemaker. I started high school at thirteen years of age and went to a private parochial school for Indian girls in Springfield, South Dakota. I became one of the top ten students in school, but that was not exceptional considering the academic level. I dragged in as number ten because I openly flunked religion. At any rate, I had a very troubled year and almost blamed myself. I was then sent to Wyzata, Minnesota, on the summer home live-in program — better known among the girls as the "indentured servant program." I served a prominent lawyer's family, and in turn, I was taught white etiquette. The five dollars a week which I earned was sent back to the school. The school, however, would not accept me back in the fall, so I went home to Idaho.

My parents never wanted me to go away to school in the first place. But they could not afford to send us to public school, and when the Episcopal Church offered me a scholarship, I accepted. When the government offered responsibility for my education, I also accepted, and finally when a judge offered reform school or school away from home, I took the latter for whatever it was worth.

Since the early 1950's my father had been involved with the politics of the tribe on the reservation and we were all aware of the effects of his work. He was hated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Who he was remained in question, because the BIA did not issue birth certificates when he was born. My father underwent investigation by the F.B.I., as Indians who rejected the government dictatorship on the reservation were considered Communists. The Communist paranoia gave Indians some exposure to political matters. Curiously, however, Indians always thought the government was the Communists, and were amazed to find out they were being called Communists.

During the time my father was battling the BIA on the reservation, my family found themselves assisting him by writing letters to Congressmen, BIA officials, and solicitors from the Interior Department. We did this in an effort to secure recognition of proper tribal transactions consistent with the constitution and by-laws governing our tribe. Violations, improper procedures, and many other irregularities were gradually tearing at our reservation and making matters much worse than they already were. The state of Idaho imposed partial jurisdiction of its laws on our reservation, private industries gained a foothold on the reservation, and big-time farming by non-Indians was crowding Indians out of farming their own lands and utilizing water. The Indian Claims Commission in Washington, D.C. was litigating the 1946 Claims Act which would eventually legitimize the nation's largest land steals. The Indians were fighting against the termination policy of the Eisenhower administration in the 1950's. The whole national Indian picture was getting worse.

In the meantime, I was still struggling through high school, and was successful in getting expelled six more times. Chilocco Indian School in Oklahoma managed to get rid of me after six weeks. This happened after a visit from my father, who was the Tribal Chairman and very much disliked by government employees. Carson City, Nevada kept me for a half a day before they expelled me on my record alone. I was sent to the chief of police and a judge who wanted to send me to reform school. I told them that I had parents, and that they would take me back any time. After a few phone calls, my statement was confirmed, and I was allowed to return to Idaho.



Between attending out-of-state schools, Blackfoot High School accepted me back and expelled me a few more times. I was beginning to feel the effects of being told to leave every school I attended. I was constantly told that I was "a bad person," that my thinking was "wrong," and that I had the "wrong attitude on life." Had it not been for my parents I would never have survived. Every time I was sent home from school, my dad would meet me at the bus depot and welcome me home. He told me that I wouldn't be myself if they didn't send me home. He was right, for if I was brainwashed and acceptable at school, then I wouldn't be myself. Both mother and dad went through the same treatment when they were in school, and they well understood.

The year in South Dakota marked the end of my formal education. During the time I spent out of school I was constantly plagued by both the illegal aspects of reservation life and a fight for survival. I started drinking quite young because this was the trend among reservation youth. My first arrest was at fourteen, and my first felony by sixteen. It was the only way to live at the time, since I didn't seem to last in school. I know now why I reacted as I did, and can honestly attribute that behavior as a reaction to the rejection I felt by an insensitive, cold society. There were no alternatives for any young Indian growing up on the reservation.

In 1968, the Senate Select Subcommittee on Indian Education conducted extensive investigations on Indian reservations throughout the country and came up with the most atrocious statistics ever to be recorded in a civilized and peaceful nation. This investigation was led by the late Senator Robert F. Kennedy who visited our reservation, its public schools and city jails. Indians led the national average in the worst statistics on practically everything, including suicide. Our reservation led other reservations in the worst suicide statistics. This incidence was highest among the young. I know how fortunate I am to be alive today, especially when most of the Indians my age are either dead, in prison, or committing slow suicide through drinking and sniffing paint.

The 1968 Senate investigation also revealed the atrocities in the government boarding schools. My old Chilocco school was the object of considerable controversy. It seems the Subcommittee found out about the beatings and the imprisonments in basements where male students were found handcuffed to pipes. I was happy to hear about those exposures. However, later I found out that the superintendent of the Chilocco School was merely transferred to Haskell Institute, an Indian Junior College in Lawrence, Kansas. I believed that the boarding schools were good to the extent that their students were all Indians, but the administrations definitely needed Indian guidance and involvement. An Indian education curriculum with emphasis on Indian religious values could readily solve drinking and suicidal tendences threatening our future.

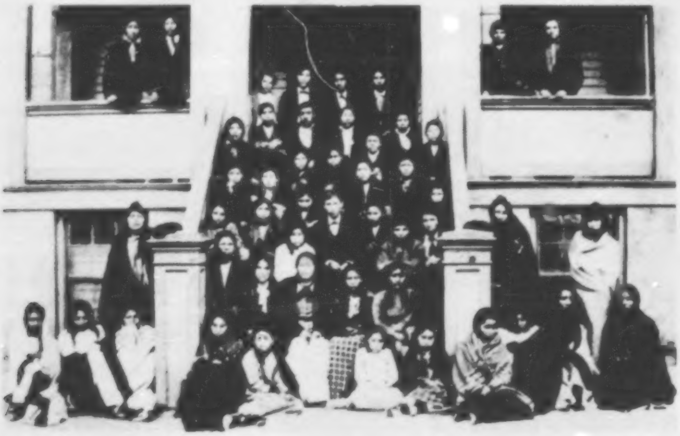
In 1963 I took my G.E.D., the equivalent to a high school diploma. In passing my G.E.D., I entered Idaho State College and once again continued my efforts to get a relevant education. This goal was short-lived. Pressures of living on the reservation and attending college in a nearby town, inadequate finances, and the political crisis going on within the reservation were getting me down. Yet this is the only time I was not expelled from school. The reason this time was academic trouble. The university curriculum was irrelevant and insensitive to Indian culture and life-styles.

My father was ousted from the Tribal Council in what appeared to be a private industry dispute. He was against a land claims settlement and the finding of the Indian Claims Commission concerning some sixty million acres of land illegally taken by the U.S. government which belonged to the Shoshonean Nation. There was a lot of bad publicity over the mines dispute for my father because he was the Chairman of the Tribal Council and he was publicly slandered. The charges that were alleged against him were never proven to be true and he was never allowed a hearing. When we would try to respond to the adverse publicity, the newspapers would not print it and would add at the end of their articles that my father was "not around for comment." Concurrent with this, my father was undergoing another F.B.I. investigation, as indeed was our entire family. My oldest brother, a very bright and concerned Indian, was sent to a federal penitentiary after getting into a fight on the reservation. The other individual involved in this "fight" never pressed charges, but the F.B.I. stepped in and pressed them for him — it has jurisdiction to do so on a federal reserve. In the meantime, my father, a very talented tradesman, was blacklisted from any contracting jobs, government or otherwise. The whole family suffered and we were screened out of even what little other Indians were entitled to receive. Even in grade school the tribe paid for all Indian students hot lunch program. Our family was suddenly excluded from this, as well as from receiving medical services.

A year following my father's ouster, he was petitioned back on the Tribal Council by the people from his district and re-elected in the next election. But he was still refused his seat in office, and the government sat quietly by. Tribal Council activities could have been suspended by the BIA until the members complied with the tribal Constitution and by-laws. But rather than abiding by their orders under the Indian Reorganization Act, the bureaucrats remained idle so that

Indians would be pitted against each other. My father was forced to start litigation, but the Tribal Court was controlled by the Council, and there was no chance to get a fair and impartial hearing. The alternative was a federal court, which ruled that it did not have jurisdiction. After ten years of buck-passing, the question of who makes the federally chartered constitution on Indian reservations responsible is still being tossed around by our Great White Father in Washington, D.C.

I left Idaho on relocation through the BIA's direct employment assistance program to San Francisco in January of 1965. Gradually I became acquainted with the Bay Area Indian community. As a product of the relocation program, I was well aware of Indian problems. Having a chance to step out of myself from the reservation, I could really see what was happening all around. I worked with some of the Indian organizations in the city, and found out how treacherous the acculturation processes are to our people. I learned to depend on Indians from many other tribes. Indian unity was the greatest gift I learned in that situation. Indians from all tribes were relocated into the city and we all helped and depended on each other.



I started school at the University of California in January of 1968. Two of my sons were born in San Francisco. My first son stayed with my parents on the reservation, and my second son stayed with me while I went to school, as he was only six months old at the time.

The university admitted me through the educational opportunity program which had been in operation for several years. It had never admitted an Indian before, and that fact became part of my argument to get in, despite my irregular educational background. I became their first token Indian. At least we got our foot into the door. It took a lot of effort for Indian students to pass the barriers of the great educational institution.

In 1969 we still did not have very many students, but felt fortunate to number fifteen. Most of the students were female, and it took us a while to let everyone know we were serious.

We organized the first Indian student group on campus, and I was elected chairman. The threat of white orientation in a professional university continued to be a goal we intended to eliminate. We joined the other ethnic groups on campus in the Third World Strike in 1968 in order to get our own department of Native American Studies (NAS). Right or wrong, the decision was made by Indian students on campus, in a unified effort, to get a relevant education that cost the university more money than they could have given us for our programs. I was arrested during the strike for felonious assault on an officer and dismissed from school for two quarters. In the meantime I worked with Dr. Jack Forbes at Far West Research Laboratories in Berkeley. The U.C. chancellor gave me permission to come on campus for employment reasons. My job was to implement community efforts with the university, and help insert Native American Studies into the curriculum. In the summer of the year prior to opening our department, the Indians had an education workshop in nearby Davis, California, and the first Native American Studies curriculum was developed. Dr. Forbes was the original candidate for coordinator of the Ethnic Studies Department. All of the groups involved in the Third World Strike felt that it was important for a Native American to be the first coordinator. Dr. Forbes declined the nomination because he felt that the goal of establishing an all-Indian university was much too restricted under the present Office of the Chancellor.

In the fall of 1969 we began our first quarter of Native American Studies. I put the original proposal together with most of Dr. Forbes' materials. We were working with the California Indian Education Program, and were the first Native American Studies program in the country to get underway. Following the student strike at Berkeley, the University of California at Los Angeles approved a program for Native American Studies. The University of Minnesota and other colleges around the country were interested in starting similar programs, and requested materials collected by the NAS program at Berkeley. This was eventually filtered all around the nation and used as the basic format for other programs.

The university itself finally appointed the coordinator of Native American Studies, despite opposition from students who wanted to select their own appointee. The "apple"

Indians came to the surface, seeing a new market in Indian education and openings for "Indian experts." The First National Indian Education Conference occurred in the fall of 1969 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and many of the students who had been involved with Native American Studies wanted to go. Only the official university staff had travel paid to attend the conference and speak in behalf of the department. The whole orientation of the department was shifted from a community focus to a poor carbon copy of white academia. Originators and students were completely omitted, and the opportunist "Indian experts" rode on the coattails of other Indians, disregarding the original intentions and efforts.

It was at this time in 1969 that Alcatraz Island was a controversial issue in the Bay Area. The city of San Francisco was accepting proposals for the development of the island. My second son's grandfather and uncle, both Sioux, had been involved in the original Indian claim of Alcatraz in 1964, just after the island was released as federal surplus land. A Sioux landing party had claimed the island at that time in behalf of all Indian people for use as an educational center. Evidently the original proposal presented by the Sioux in 1964 was not getting anywhere with the city council of San Francisco in 1969, especially in competition with all the millionaire plans. As students interested in the development of an all-Indian educational facility, we felt we should support this issue and bring recognition to the U.S. government's failure to recognize Indian treaties. We never imagined that the takeover of Alcatraz in 1969 would draw national and international attention.

Indian students from San Francisco State College and the University of California at Berkeley planned the invasion quite loosely. Fourteen of us went to the island overnight, after a mock takeover by boat during the day. An "Indian leader" was played up by the media, and a deal was made with General Services Administration (GSA) officials that we would leave the island if they didn't arrest us. Rather than argue and show disunity, we all left the island and made vows to go back. We did go back one week later, on the day that the National Indian Education Conference opened in Minnesota. We figured all of our "Indian leaders" would be out of town. This time there were 89 of us, including students and families from UCLA.

My son and I stayed on the island for over one year. I remained enrolled at the university during this time. I wrote a planning grant proposal which the federal government requested, and the proposal for a cultural complex establishing "Thunderbird University." We released our architectural plans and university plans on our first anniversary in November of 1970. By this time, however, we had already changed our plans, since the government gave us our all Indian university in the form of D-Q University, at nearby Davis. The Chicanos were included in that university idea because they were of mixed Indian blood, and their real heritage was Indian. But we figured that if the government could only understand blueprints and proposals, then we would give them just that. The real decision would belong to the Indians anyway and it was the natural consensus to let the island go back to nature. The government had never given much thought to the fact that Alcatraz sat over the San Andreas earthquake fault and that the cracks in the rock went deep into the earth. We did our best to let our needs be known. The government tried to make concessions in other areas throughout the country but would not give us Alcatraz. The Taos Pueblo, however, got its sacred Blue Lake back in 1970. What was happening all over was good to see.

As Alcatraz then was symbolic of the rebirth of Indian consciousness to both Indians and non-Indians, it is also symbolic today of our present relationship to the government. The island has armed guards and is barb-wired and bugged. Dogs now patrol the island, as does the U.S. Coast Guard. There is a $5,000 fine and ten-year imprisonment sentence for unauthorized persons who penetrate a fifty-yard radius of the island. But at least the government does not have to say: "We gave you Alcatraz. What more do you Indians want?"

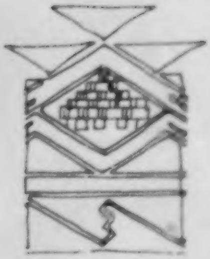
Throughout all of this time, I made frequent trips back to the reservation which had gone through many changes. Once I did not recognize the area, but felt I was crossing through the middle of Kansas. As we traveled over the new interstate freeway, we had to turn the lights on in the middle of the day. It was in the spring, after the white farmers had plowed the ground, and the heart of the reservation became a giant dust bowl for miles during the March winds. As it turned out, the new Tribal Council under the direction of a white tribal attorney, had leased out all of the tribal lands in an effort to develop economic resources for the tribe to pay their salaries.

The land was leased on the average of $1.50 an acre; very cheap for rich virgin land. The white lessees would in turn lease it to persons of their own choosing, making a profit without lifting a finger. The land cannot be leased for longer than twenty-five years, so the white farmers want to get as much out of the land as they can before turning it back to the tribe. The farming methods employed do not provide for future cultivation, and it is feared that when returned to tribal custody the once-rich terrain will be useless wasteland. Water rights for irrigation on lands Indians were trying to farm were taken away by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The big white farmers have sprinkler systems however, on all of the land leased and approved by the government for their crops. The Indians were pushed right out of the farming business, and what few jobs are now left on the reservation are with the government.

My mother developed a talent for beadwork and the skill of tanning deerhides. She said that it was hard to obtain deerhides because there is a scarcity of deer. She also said that there was not any market for Indian articles and handicrafts in the nearby reservation towns and the Indians along with herself were forced to sell their work for little or nothing. It is most discouraging for them to continue, but they do not have any choice since they need what money they get to buy food and pay bills.

Our main diet on the reservation consists of federal surplus commodities, high in starches and fattening, with little or no nutrition. Yet, if we did not have these we would have nothing. There are hardly any more jackrabbits, pheasants, ducks or deer on our reservation. The white farmers plowed up all of their homes. The sage and the cedar have largely been plowed under. The sage and the cedar are our medicine. The fish in the fresh water creeks now have mercury contamination. Open-pit mining on our reservation exposed all of the natural elements in the ground to the air, and the wind and rain have carried these elements to underground springs and irrigation canals. The crops carry contamination, and the use of insecticides, especially through aerial spraying, have killed cattle, sheep, horses and Indians with their poisonous gases. The fresh air has been polluted by the smoke from huge furnaces of private industries making fertilizers out of phosphates. Fort Hall Reservation has the largest phosphate deposits in the world.

In January of 1971, the Indian Claims Commission in Washington, D.C. made an offer to our tribes at Fort Hall. The Claims attorneys representing the Indians made a presentation of a compromise settlement between the United States and the Indian Tribes. The settlement followed over twenty years of actual litigation in a suit against the United States for illegally taking the Indian lands prior to our treaty of 1868. The treaty of 1868 restricted different Shoshone tribes including the Bannocks to Bannock territory, establishing the Fort Hall Reservation. (Shoshones under Chief Washike were placed on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming). The original suit, filed in 1951 and represented by my father Edward Boyer in behalf of the Shoshone Nation, was processed in what Indian claims attorneys call the "alternative manner." This divided the plaintiff tribes into separate dockets, because they were each officially recognized by the Secretary of the Interior as having organized governments. The rule of the game to establish land title, however, was exclusive use and ownership of one tribe. All of the bands and tribes that made up the Shoshonean Nation were defined by government witnesses, anthropologists and Indian experts as being tribes separate from each other, and each gave names to those tribes recognized. When the tribes claimed their aboriginal territories, the Indian Claims Commission said that there was a conflict of interest because more than one tribe claimed the same area. Therefore no one tribe could claim the land, since the rule of the Commission to establish title was exclusive use and ownership of one tribe. In this way over two-thirds of the land claimed by the Shoshone Nation was omitted from the payment, which just happened to be for the most valuable lands. This was not even within reason. All of the tribes composing the Shoshonean Nation — the Ute, Paiute, Comanche, Shoshone, Bannock, and so forth — are all speaking the same mother tongue (anthropologically defined as *Uto-Aztec*). Not only are we one Nation, but when we were corralled into different reservations under federal corporations, the name given the title of that federal corporation or reservation consisted of tribes and bands not necessarily from the original area.



Since the litigation undertaken was done in behalf of separated tribes, officially organized and recognized by the Interior Department, certain voting procedures restricted voting to those who had maintained residence on the reservation for at least one year for all elections. In the matter of voting for approval or rejection of the compromise settlement, the federal government changed the rules to authorize all enrolled members of the federal corporation to vote. Two-thirds of the enrolled membership lived off the reservation at that time, and either did not know or care what the implications of voting to accept this settlement involved. The Indians who lived on the reservation, the legal voters under the provisions of the tribe's constitution and by-laws, did not have the votes to contest the wrong and deceitful actions of attorneys, claims commissioners and government officials. Those who did vote favorably were misinformed and clearly motivated by token money payments.

Had the original suit been litigated as an overall Nation claim, all of the enrolled members of all the tribes that made up the Shoshonean Nation would have been allowed to vote as the Shoshonean Nation. All of the aboriginal territory of the Shoshonean Nation would have been justly compensated by the U.S. government as provided under the terms of the Indian Claims Act of 1946. This was the legal dark spot of my life, and it prompted me to study law.

I graduated from the University of California in the fall quarter of 1971. I did my senior thesis on land claims and developed my own curriculum, devising my own major in Native American Studies. I entered law school nine months after graduation. In my nine months out of school, I returned to the reservation and gave birth to my third son. I now have my own family of sons from the Cherokee, Sioux and Blackfeet Tribes.

I believe that universities should have more programs for Indians. In using government monies for these programs, we pressed the state for administrative costs and let federal funds, through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, meet the individual costs of Indian students. In this way the state could not take advantage of Indian higher education monies which rightfully belong to students. Because of the BIA's limited money for Indian education, more Indians can be serviced and reached. When universities contract with the BIA for Indian programs, they skim off the cream of Indian higher education monies. Congressmen and Senators from states face no pressures to authorize more monies from their states when they can count on federal "Indian money" to take care of administrative costs.

My consuming interest now is law. I have not been academically programmed to meet the non-Indian criteria of traditional institutions, and I believe in relevant training to meet the needs of the Indian client community. Few law schools today include classes on Indian law, and there is not a law school in existence that provides a full Indian law curriculum. An Indian has to be better prepared than the average law graduate because the federal legal entanglements surrounding reservations necessitate the best legal technicians. Traditional law schools offer academically programmed Indian legal training which would serve Indians with urban orientations, but they do not provide a full legal background for federal reservation Indians. Today's Indian lawyers have not yet been able to touch reservation Indian problems which surfaced in the 1970s with the November 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties takeover of the BIA in Washington, D.C., and the Battle of Wounded Knee in 1973. Our legal experts have not been able to come together and forge a position on how they would resolve Indian conflict situations without at the same time hurting tribal governments themselves. In the meantime, I believe, tribal governments are hurting Indians. Through them we let ourselves fall into that old white conspiracy of Indians fighting Indians.

Because of the pressing and urgent issues affecting Indians all over the country, I do not believe Indians have time to be only law students. If Indians are going to study Indian law in relation to the U.S. government, then traditional Indian law as well must be recognized. Indians have the inalienable right by law to practice freely their religion, traditions and customs.

Indian law students have a big job ahead of them — especially in the need to update tribal courts. Traditional Indian law needs to be carefully translated for application. At Fort Hall, traditional Indian law applied before the federal law and order code applied. When our white attorney revised our law and order code he left out that stipulation, and it was approved without consultation with tribesmen. All the tribes which make up the Shoshonean Nation would automatically fall under that tribal jurisdiction.

I have exposed myself here because I have nothing to hide. Yet I've been called everything negative that the activist American Indian Movement (AIM) has been called. What many people do not realize is the fact that the American Indian Movement has been going on long before AIM was formed in 1969. Any Indian who stands up for Indians is a member of the American Indian Movement. Members of Tribal Councils fighting for Indian rights are part of the "movement." When Tribal Councils say that they are against the American Indian Movement they are only hurting themselves.

In my short lifetime I have seen many things happen that have hurt us, but Indians still live. As long as there is one Indian alive who believes and has faith in the Creator, we will come back. Indians are stronger now than they have been for a long time. This makes me glad, for I know that the sun is coming over the mountains and a new day is beginning. And as I prepare for sunrise the way my ancestors have for many generations, I am glad to be an Indian; one of the people from *E'da How.*

Dillon Platero is the founder, editor and publisher of the *Navajo Times*, a past member of the Navajo Tribal Council, and currently directs the Navajo Division of Education of the Navajo Tribe. He has traveled to India on a UNESCO fellowship in community and governmental development; this experience helped him to develop and later to direct the academic and administrative programs of the Rough Rock Demonstration School in Chinle, Arizona.

MULTICULTURAL TEACHER EDUCATION CENTER AT ROUGH ROCK

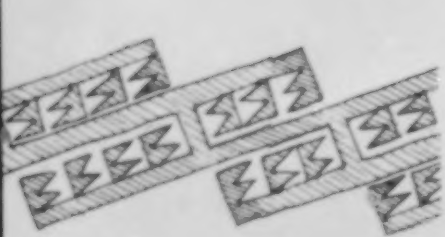
Dillon Platero

In July 1966, Rough Rock Demonstration School on the Navajo Reservation at Chinle, Arizona came into being. It was a project predicated upon the premise that Navajo people are the ones best able to decide upon, most interested in being involved in, and the one group most vitally affected by the curriculum content and instructional methods used with Navajo children.

Being fully responsible for the operation of their own local school for several years, the people of Rough Rock became more and more impressed with the need for procedures whereby Indian people themselves might aspire to service as teachers and para-professionals.

Admittedly, the long and sometimes tortuous route of study at colleges of education is open in theory to Native Americans. But the multiple factors often militating against the successful following of such a route, and the demonstrably poor quality of many teachers on reservations who have come to their jobs via that route, made Indian people wonder if perhaps there might not be better ways of preparing Indians to assume their rightful places as teachers and aides with the high degree of professionalism that is the ideal of the education community.

Perhaps the one word epitomizing the feelings of Indians at Rough Rock is "concern." Concern for their children has led them to assume responsibilities for local education in a fashion unheard of when the school started in 1966. Concern for the well-being of the Navajo Tribe has provided an impetus for the teaching of Navajo language and culture in the school curriculum. Concern for excellence in opportunities for their children (not only academic excellence but excellence in life itself) has motivated Indian people to question the previously sacrosanct premises upon which teacher education has been predicated and to provide a new approach.



It is axiomatic that Indian people, by an overwhelming majority, want to retain their "Indianness," their sense of tribal identity. While this awareness of, and pride in, being a Native American has been consistently held since the first incursions of the "benevolent" American government into tribal affairs, it was at first harshly dealt with by civil servants whose ethnocentricity blinded them to the legitimate aspirations of Indian peoples. Not until a third of the way into the Twentieth century was there realization on the part of some in the federal government of the legitimacy of Indian desires to retain traditional culture and values.

In the middle of the century a powerful fillip was given to cultural diversity in America with a growing awareness, which soon became academic (at least conversationally), of the values to be derived in human dignity and fundamental justice from the recognition of ethnic differences.

In Indian affairs everyone jumped on the bandwagon from old line bureaucrats to individuals who had just "found" Indian people and whose abilities often ran a poor second to their ardor.

At Rough Rock the question of preparing Native Americans with a sound, thorough understanding and knowledge of the history and culture of their people so that they can maintain their identity while being educated away from their homes, becomes not a matter of how do we prepare Native Americans but *how do we Native Americans prepare?* By this transposition of a few words, the entire situation changes from traditionally patronizing to reasoned self-assurance.

The fact is that Native Americans must cease being a manipulable mass, and rather become the manipulators and directors of their own destinies. No amorphous "we" is ever going to inculcate understanding of indigenous culture and history into Indian people. The most we can do is provide the opportunity in reasonable settings for Indians to gain understanding of their own culture and history.

The preparation of students for post-high school life must be a matter of concern to, and under the direction of, Indian people. In this regard there is a corollary to the desired retention of "Indianness" in the recognition of value in many non-Indian technical achievements. It thus becomes not a matter of "either/or," not a rejection of either Indian or non-Indian ways of life, for in fact the opportunity for such a choice has long since passed. Instead, each Indian student must work out his own *modus vivendi* in a world that is both Indian and non-Indian in orientation. It is in the role of facilitator that educators can make their most meaningful contribution to Indian education.

Making available career opportunities to Native Americans remains a matter of no small importance. For the aspirant to the professions, such opportunities are steadily shrinking. Scholarship monies not only fail to keep pace with the increasing numbers of Indian students who are capable and willing to undertake professional studies, but actually decrease for those who are now engaged in such study.

Again, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that knowledge of such opportunities should be promulgated through tribal organizations, through Indian people themselves, rather than through the stereotype of non-Indians bringing largesse to Indians. Not until they become seen as Native American opportunities, rather than another ill-disguised attempt at paternalism, will they be optimally utilized.

The reception an educated Native American receives from his tribal group upon completion of formal study is a matter of concern between the student and his tribal group. To imagine that every group will welcome every student back with open arms is fatuous. To imagine that every student will elect to return immediately to his place of origin to practice his newly acquired professional skills is equally unrealistic. There are some matters in the lives of human beings which are not amenable to manipulation by others, no matter how well-meaning. The matter of reception by tribal groups of post-high school educated Native Americans appears to be such an area of private interpersonal relationships.

In the Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock, the potential trauma of such out-of-community education and subsequent readjustment to the Native community is minimized by keeping the focus on the community. We permit the student to center his academic work there, rather than in extended periods of off-reservation residency.

Although brief sessions are held away from Rough Rock — a week or two at the University of New Mexico campus in Albuquerque, New Mexico — the cynosure of student study remains the Rough Rock community, with its problems, challenges, and opportunities.

In the early history of the United States, one of the most consistently repeated errors made by Governmental officials was the assumption that all Native peoples are "Indians": that all Native Americans somehow fit into an "Indian" mold which permits mass characterization. Such never has been the case, and certainly is not now. One thing non-Indians should learn by now is that the stereotype of anything as typically "Indian" is an exercise in futility.

Thus, it becomes pointless to formulate a justification and philosophy to serve as a base for a school to suit diverse tribal and village needs. Admittedly it would be much more efficient, neater, and bureaucratically functional to have one justification or philosophy and bend Native American groups to fit it. But this is exactly what such groups now and in the past have been trying to avoid.

It is much more time-consuming and fraught with the potential for human error to have each tribal group go through the process of creating its own justification and philosophy to meet local needs. Even so, this is the only way that true Indian direction over the educational opportunities of their children can be achieved.

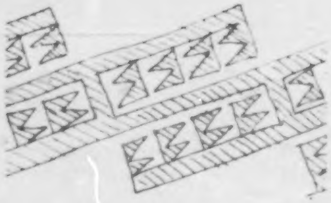
Inasmuch as our school and its philosophy were in operation at Rough Rock before the local Teacher Education Center was formally set up, we have the benefit of a school philosophy which has dealt with many of the most pressing concerns. The school philosophy endorses the concept of truly bilingual educational opportunities, implemented through the use of the Navajo language as the prime medium of instruction in the primary grades. Obviously in Native American groups where the Tribal language has long been extinguished, either literally or for all practical purposes, such a course of action would be unreasonable. In like fashion, the teaching of English as a second language is not possible in situations where the child's mother tongue is English, regardless of whether he is Native American.

School organization should serve the local populace; not the reverse. At Rough Rock an ungraded system has been instituted and in practice since 1968. However, the important thing to remember is that Native Americans should make use of whatever type of organization they feel will best serve their needs. Whether an ungraded or graded type of organization is used is of no importance. What is important is that local people be permitted to use what is of benefit to them.

At Rough Rock the strengthening of one's self-image has played a large part in the professional planning and operation of the school. Self-denigration has been a curse of Native American peoples practically since the first contact with non-Indians. It is, therefore, only through a sustained and systematic program of inculcating self-confidence that this debilitating trait can be brought into proper perspective.

A plethora of academic studies indicate a close tie between one's culture and the language one speaks. The very way one thinks is shaped by the medium in which that thinking is done. In this respect the maintenance of indigenous languages where such are still viable is an action which may reasonably be expected to perpetuate cultural unity.

Because the Navajo Tribe still has a vigorous language which is used in daily commerce, the first line of attack that Rough Rock made in the matter of self-image was to institute the Navajo language as the prime medium of instruction in the early grades. Although slowly at first, the idea that Navajo is equal to English as a means of communication has become ever more widely accepted locally.



The strengthening of the indigenous self-image is a gradual process. But this process should not be treated so gradually as to become synonymous with "never." The study of heritage and culture will vary from school to school. Much success in teaching in this area will depend, as is so often the case in teaching anything, upon the personal verve individual teachers bring to their work. The subject matter must first fight for a place in the school's curriculum. Once included, it must struggle to acquire the organization and sequential development amenable to teaching which other subjects possess. During this process, one may reasonably expect more than a little sniping from the sidelines.

It is with professional preparation that the Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock has been most concerned. Our program is logically divided into three areas: (1) The pre-service educational module, designed to prepare clerical aides, technical aides, bilingual teacher aides, and personnel to be involved in the Center's program; (2) The in-service educational module, which is an integrated sequence in a baccalaureate degree program or a non-credit certificate leading to a special citation; and (3) The graduate or "externship" module, which provides an integrated sequence in either a master's degree program or a non-credit certificate leading to a special citation by demonstration of the teacher's ability to raise the academic achievement of his Navajo students and contribute toward the professional growth of his peers.

Let us avoid like the plague the pitfall of attempting to arrive at a composite of Native American cultural values. Such old saws as "cooperation versus competition" and "present time orientation versus future time orientation" have been bandied about so long they have become as trite as the assumption that all Native Americans have a common culture and heritage.

Cultural values vary from group to group and there is no way under the sun that these variations can be swept away in the interests of administrative neatness. Let us accept the diversity that exists and let each group capitalize on its own cultural heritage as it sees fit.

At Rough Rock's Teacher Education Center particular emphasis is placed on gaining an ever-developing understanding of the psychology and learning traits of Indian students. Areas of exploration include concepts of teaching and learning; characteristics of effective teaching viewed from a student's perspective, a parent's perspective and a teacher's perspective; factors to consider in selecting methods and approaches to classroom instruction with Indian students; objectives in teaching; and motivation of students.

Recognizing that teaching is both a science and an art, the Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock provides the opportunity for Native Americans becoming educational professionals to acquire a sound grounding in the science of pedagogy.

Instilling that depth of feeling which is the *sine qua non* of a truly artistic teacher is much more difficult, and is best taught by the daily example of teachers now practicing their profession, rather than by more contrived formal presentations.

The importance of fostering a strong and positive self-image in their students is stressed in all phases of local teacher training. There is probably no other single facet of the school's endeavors which is more crucial to helping a student make optimal use of his educational opportunities.

Supportive counseling at Rough Rock, long recognized as having a place in the affairs of our students, is fulfilled most efficiently by parents from our community. At the beginning of the school's operation, dormitory parents were hired to supplement and personalize the care that regular instructional aides are able to provide their dormitory charges. It was found that the mere presence of a Navajo-speaking (and the dorm parents operated in that medium at all times), more traditionally oriented person in a dormitory situation had a markedly comforting effect, especially among the younger students.

The profession of the medicine man too is widely respected at Rough Rock, not merely tolerated and paid lip service. In fact the school is now operating a medicine man training program in which traditional ways of healing are taught along with instruction by Public Health Service physicians in some of the aspects of non-Native medicine.

One of the very first things that people learn about Rough Rock Demonstration School is the fact that the school belongs to and is run by local Indian people. While the federal government may have advisory school boards from here to kingdom come, and the public schools may have school boards with ostensible power, the school board at Rough Rock incorporates actual responsibility for the well-being of the school with real authority to make decisions.

The school board has had, since the school began operating in 1966, complete and absolute authority over hiring practices. All guides to their hiring practices are locally originated and many persons lacking formal academic training in specific areas have proven themselves worthy employees once given the chance to participate and learn on the job.

How do parents and local people become involved in the power structure? At Rough Rock such people *are* the power structure. From the experiences in this community it seems evident that to get an educational system that is truly community based and community responsive, one must have the authority and responsibility for the school resting squarely with the local Native American people. The time for playing games of having authority, while real responsibility lies with non-Native Americans, is long past. Gradualism too has been discredited as merely a delaying tactic for keeping effective responsibility away from Indian people for a few more years. The time is now. The people are ready. Paternalistic foot-dragging must cease for the actual good of Native Americans and their children.

The main purpose of Rough Rock's Teacher Education Center is the preparation of, and in-service training for, teachers of Native American children and youth.

Having reached the conclusion that the teachers we currently get have not been adequately prepared to meet the challenges found in our classrooms, the Native American people of the community have instituted this systematized fashion for "polishing" practicing teachers with the gloss of empathy and special skills needed locally.

Continuing education for teachers as well as the upgrading of skills of potential Native American teachers is the central core of our program. In addition, the school provides a setting for student teachers, both Native Americans and others, to participate in a truly locally directed school where indigenous culture and values are paramount.

The Multicultural Teacher Education Center at Rough Rock Demonstration School has shown in its on-site teacher preparation program the value of a systematic plan of action to help Native Americans attack the walls of requirements and the special mystiques of the educational process.

The philosophy, programs and accomplishments of the Multicultural Teacher Education Center thus far in its brief existence can stand the closest scrutiny.

Jerome Buckanaga is the Director of the Pine Point Experimental School in Ponsford, Minnesota, an institution which he founded in 1971. He has earned both a Bush Leadership Fellowship and several Golden Gloves Boxing Championships. A member of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, Mr. Buckanaga chairs the Minnesota Indian Education Committee.

INTERRACIAL POLITICS: THE PRESSURE TO INTEGRATE AN EXPERIMENTAL SCHOOL

Jerome Buckanaga

The purpose of this essay is to discuss the political realities which face Indian communities as they begin to move toward transforming the rhetoric of "Indian control of Indian schools" prevalent in the 1960's and 1970's into the reality of quality education.

The education of Indian children has never been above politics. Schools have been — and usually still are — one of the chief instruments of domination used by American society at large. More and more, I have come to believe that people who argue that schools are not political institutions do not follow school board elections, attend meetings, and probably have never tried to bring substantial changes to a school.

And the politicization is a national as well as a local matter. Concern for national issues is important and necessary, as national issues affect local communities and the individuals in them.

If one believes literally the educational theorists, one might think that the problem in running a demonstration program for Indian students is a matter of getting together a coherent set of ideas about schooling and operating on the basis of those ideas. If one believes in the current ways most schools are administered, one might end up thinking that it makes no difference whatever which set of ideas about schooling apply, so long as bills are paid and no one influential is offended by the demonstration program.

Both perspectives are limited, and do not serve the development of a demonstration program. Experiences with Pine Point Experimental Community School in Ponsford, Minnesota, suggest to me that a demonstration program has at least two major functions: first, to demonstrate ideas in operation for improving schooling; and second, to demonstrate how to put together the resources to establish and nourish a school program. The first function demands educational resourcefulness; the second, political resourcefulness. While both kinds of resourcefulness are necessary, *the political dimension is the one which is usually unrecognized and underestimated*.

Basic to this argument are two other points. First, Indian communities are badly served by schools most of the time. Secondly, Indian communities are politically dispossessed and therefore relatively powerless.

The present program at Pine Point started in July of 1970. The initiative for a new program came when a statewide plan for the consolidation of school districts affected the community. Provisions of this law included closing "common school districts" — those not operating a high school — and consolidating them with an existing district which did operate a high school.

To my knowedge the issues of the special political status of reservations and the special needs of Indian students were never raised during development and enforcement of this legislation. That is a critical political failure in itself, but too long for the confines of this essay.

Pine Point operated as a common school district for many years before the consolidation issue surfaced. Thus the claim that reservation communities have no experience running their own school affairs is simply wrong, so far as Pine Point is concerned.

Accordingly, the organization of the following discussion is:

First, a history of the Pine Point Experimental Community School and the variety of problems encountered.

Second, the legal argument for a tribe to be recognized as an entity.

Third, re-emphasis of political dimensions in attempting to carry on an alternative program for Indian students, with generalized reactions on what organizers for demonstration programs need to consider.

The Pine Point Elementary School is located in the village of Ponsford, Minnesota, in the southeast corner of the White Earth Indian Reservation. Trade centers for the area are Park Rapids, 20 miles southeast, and Detroit Lakes, 30 miles southwest.

This area of the state is well known for its natural beauty. The magnificent Itasca State Park is located immediately to the east of the reservation. Both Park Rapids and Detroit Lakes are renowned tourist meccas. In fact, a large part of the economic base of the area is tourist-oriented.

In the midst of this natural beauty, many residents suffer greatly. Of all persons who suffer from economic deprivation, the Indian people suffer most deeply since their plight is compounded by racial attitudes and a history of social and educational programs which have failed to meet the needs to which they were presumably addressed.

Becker County, within which the Pine Point sector of the reservation is located, usually ranks at or near the bottom of Minnesota counties listed by per capita income. Conversely it ranks near the top in percentage of residents dependent upon forms of public welfare. An estimated 70 percent of persons living in the Pine Point area have annual family incomes below $3,600 and 90 percent of heads of households have incomes below $3,000. Pine Point has an average yearly income of $614 per person. Unemployment and underemployment are chronic among heads of households, and opportunities for employment of youth are non-existent.

Pine Point exists in geographic, economic, and social isolation. The community is dominated by problems of poverty which are inextricably linked to and compounded by problems of race. An inference may be drawn: these problems may well produce a culture in which healthy "identity" is almost impossible to attain. The results produce a scene in which too many human beings at best waste themselves, and at worst destroy themselves.

The objectives drawn for this project were designed to fit the needs of the community. The initial phase of the project was the school, for the community of Pine Point is in existence primarily because of it.

The community of Pine Point decided in 1968 that changes in the school program were in order. One of the earliest steps taken was to hire a Chippewa from Pine Point as the principal of the school. Throughout the school year of 1968-69 several meetings were held to generate community involvement in the school and participation in activities. Many of the activities carried out were, perhaps, simple in comparison to other school districts. They included staff meetings with parents, discussions, and movies about the culture of the Indian people of the United States. Yet by these means Indian parents were becoming actively involved in the various facets of the school program, a rare thing in Indian communities. The response from the residents was encouraging to the school administration and even more encouraging to the parents themselves. This was a new experience for them and they continued their attendance at meetings and programs.

In October of 1969 meetings were initiated with the neighboring Park Rapids school district. At that time Districts 25 (Pine Point) and 309 (Park Rapids) were independent of each other, with District 25 purchasing high school services for its children from District 309. Present were staff members of the Park Rapids school and parents of the Pine Point community. The intent of the meetings was to establish a dialogue between the community and the Park Rapids staff, and to suggest guidelines for the issues of school attendance, school performance, and dropouts. At that time the dropout rate was

78 percent over a ten-year period. A representative number of Park Rapids teachers attended, and it was an excellent opportunity for developing further group meetings. It was suggested that the staff of Park Rapids take the initiative in organizing future meetings. Nothing, however, materialized.

At this time, the Minnesota Indian Education Committee was discussing alternative solutions for problems facing Indian students in the state, such as dropouts, low achievement and absenteeism. At an earlier date, the Minnesota Indian Education Committee met at Pine Point and reviewed some of the same issues with community parents. This Committee cautioned community residents against making any radical moves concerning the educational systems serving the Pine Point students. The committee chairman stated: "Asking the children to stay in a reservation or Indian-populated school (Pine Point) might place an additional burden on the children by lengthening the period of time that it takes to learn to function in modern society." In addition, the Minnesota Director of Indian Education was concerned that any alternatives Pine Point might consider be thoroughly examined.

The alternative the community was considering was to establish a school program similar in nature to the Navajo's Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle, Arizona. The Pine Point Board of Education was convinced this was the direction to take, and instructed the school principal to conduct a study of the concepts of experimental educational programs.

In retrospect, in May of 1969, Reuben Rock, an elder in the community and a member of the Pine Point School Board, stated that Pine Point was moving towards community status with the development of a new housing project, and he registered concern that the Pine Point School was to be abandoned just when improvements were developing in the local community.

On November 5, 1969, an article appeared in the *Detroit Lakes Tribunal* entitled, "Giant Mill Levy Seen for Pine Point: Consolidation Probable." (The 1967 Minnesota State Legislature had passed a law that common school districts, such as Pine Point, must consolidate with graded secondary school districts by 1971.) It was the opinion of many that the state was encouraging the consolidation of the Pine Point School district, which, in effect, would shut down the school at a date earlier than the actual legal deadline. The Pine Point officials were urged to begin discussions with District 309, Park Rapids, regarding consolidation. It is important to note that the Department of Education felt that the common school district of Pine Point was not providing quality education. It appeared that the answer to the educational ills of this Indian community was to shut down existing facilities and move the children to other locations — white public schools — in order that they receive "quality education." The instrument the state used was the increased tax levy, and this in a school district already noted for the lack of taxable resources. All parties concerned realized the district of Pine Point could not meet the mill levy being proposed.

Later that month new impetus was added. At the First National Indian Education Conference held November 20-22, 1969 in Minneapolis, Democratic Senator Walter F. Mondale of Minnesota in a keynote address, stated:

> "There is little to be proud of about a system in which 25 percent of the teachers of Indian students admit they prefer not to teach Indians. There is little to be proud of about a system which ignores the Indian half the time and demeans him the rest."

At this same conference the call was made for Indians to become involved in their own destiny. The conclusions drawn were unanimous: "Indian education is as bad as it can be, and even at its best, white-dominated education insults and frustrates Indians. Indian control has never been tried in recent times. Therefore, Indians should be given meaningful involvement and control over the education of their children."

The proposed closing of the District 25 school involved a basic contradiction. On the one hand, considerable rhetorical energy had been devoted to the need for involving Indian parents in the education of their children. On the other hand, the Indian-controlled Pine Point School was being forced into consolidation with a non-Indian school system. Thus the theory of Indian responsibility was contradicted by the realities of school policies.

Since it appeared that little was going to be done by state officials about the possible shutdown of the Pine Point School, the community had to step up its proposed alternatives. On December 5, 1969, a project overview entitled "An Experimental Community School" was submitted to the Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission for its review and support. The presentation was made by the Indian principal at a meeting held in the village of Pine Point. It was the first documented article to appear regarding the possible alternatives discussed by the Pine Point community members. The Minnesota Indian Affairs Commission supported the proposal.

On the final day of Congress in 1969, Senator Walter Mondale renewed his call for prompt change in Indian educational systems to recognize the special needs of Indian students. He told of recent events at the Pine Point School in Ponsford:

> "Two teenage suicides and seven attempted suicides in the last ten months; 18 local Indian youths incarcerated in state correctional institutions; another 27 on probation; a high school dropout rate of 78 percent and an average daily attendance rate of only 51 percent.
>
> These statistics can be interpreted a number of ways, but of one thing I am convinced: The educational system must bear a major responsibility for these tragic situations. These statistics will not change until the educational system changes to recognize the special needs of Indian students."

With the support of Senator Mondale and the Indian Affairs Commission, the next move was to meet with Department of Education officials to discuss the legality of a possible demonstration project, and ramifications of the legislative mandate (that of 1965) regarding consolidation. It appeared to be a touchy matter because of the suggestions by Indian organizations and tribes that Indians be given the opportunity to run their own affairs. Again, the contradiction between a law and the desire of a group was readily apparent. The Director of the Indian Education Section of the State Department of Education decided it would be worth trying to explore the possibilities, and to draw up detailed plans and proposals.

The Minnesota Indian Education Committee named an ad hoc subcommittee to assist in the drawing up of a proposal. While yet in rough draft, the proposal received support from Indian organizations throughout the state and advanced rapidly. The plans for establishing a demonstration project in Indian education for the state of Minnesota were set in order, and a deadline for completion of the proposal was set for June 1, 1970. The action date for the Minnesota Department of Education was July 1, 1970, and the proposed implementation date was September, 1970.

There remained to be answered questions of law, research, and funding. At this point, however, the major area to be put in order was detailing the project methods, features, and objectives, so that a justifiable argument could be made for the project.

In late February, 1970, a thesis entitled "Behaviorally Engineered Elementary Schools" was presented. In the thesis, there were three fundamentals outlined: the premise of defined instructional objectives; application of defensible laws of human behavior; and accountability of all involved persons for the contribution of their behavior to the learning of children. In addition, it was strongly suggested that the teachers must make a commitment to learn and apply the principles of immediate reinforcement of behavior.

In mid-April, 1970, a draft of the proposal was finished. Titled "An Experimental Community School: A Child Centered Program," it was the end product of several months of research and development. The basics of the proposal were: to establish, in an elementary school serving Indian children in a rural area of Minnesota, a program of instruction which would produce upgraded achievement in mathematics, reading, and other standard curricular subjects; to incorporate into the content of the curriculum the history, music, art, and traditions of Chippewa Indian people; and to employ the defensible laws of human behavior to guide children to behaviorally stated instructional objectives.

Throughout the month of May, negotiations were held between the school boards of Pine Point and Park Rapids and the Director of Indian Education to discuss the possible merger of the two schools. In order to comply with the state mandate of consolidation, the tentative solution offered by the Indian community was to become a part of the Park Rapids district, but to maintain Pine Point as an attendance unit of the district. There were many questions from both sides, mainly concerning funding and control. The Park Rapids board hesitated because of concern that they might have to spend some of their own money to operate the Pine Point School. On the other hand, the

Pine Point board was concerned that the local people would have little to say about school operations in a school they felt was theirs. The Director of Indian Education assured the Park Rapids board that additional funds would be made available. There would be no cost to the local taxpayer, contingent on the establishment of an advisory board from the local community from Pine Point.

In early June, 1970, the two school boards met at Pine Point to make a final decision. The Park Rapids school board resolved to maintain the Pine Point School as an attendance unit of District 309 and as an Experimental Educational Unit for a period of one year. At that time the program would be subject to review.

On June 8, 1970, the combined school boards of Pine Point and Park Rapids met with the State Board of Education and Commissioner of Education, Howard Casmey. The State Board went on record as endorsing the experimental project and resolved that it be carried on for a period of three years.

On June 30, 1970, District 25 ceased to exist as a corporate body. On July 1, 1970, Pine Point School became the responsibility of the Park Rapids district and became known as "The Pine Point Experimental Community School."

In the beginning of the program it was hoped that the administration of the Pine Point School would be shared by the local Indian school board and the Park Rapids board. However, the Pine Point board was dissolved, and replaced with an Indian Advisory Board. Administration lay totally with the Park Rapids School Board, with the Indian Advisory Board having input in an advisory capacity only. The fact that the Pine Point community lost a considerable amount of local autonomy is a clear example of a large school system dominating a local community. It should be noted that the Park Rapids School Board was never in favor of merging with the Pine Point School, for reasons unclear. The merger of the administrations was an unhappy one for most of the people involved. Eventual consequences indicate this clearly.

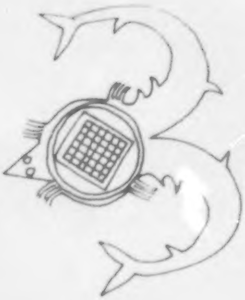
After the program began, there were indications that the district officials were going to operate from a position of indifference while posing as grantors of independence. One example of this indifference was an outgrowth of allegations made in a local newspaper that Pine Point was a center for developing racial hatred. The article appeared November 12, 1970, in the *Becker County Record* entitled "County Residents Request Stronger Law Enforcement." Reference was made to the Pine Point School, stating that the theme of the school was to teach hate and racism.

The staff of Pine Point drafted a letter requesting the Park Rapids Board of Education meet and prepare a rebuttal to the allegations. The request was made November 17, 1970. The Board of Education read the request January 19, 1971. The matter was brought up to the Pine Point staff and community in March, 1971. Immediate support could have reinforced the staff and community. But the school board did not respond until it was too late and did not matter.

The same attitudes were reflected in reactions to proposals from Pine Point to provide services to a group of over twenty-five high school dropouts who started spending time at the Pine Point School. After making several requests to the Superintendent and District 309 board, this group was told that we could not provide resources to assist them. As a *coup de grace*, one of the district board members stated to the Pine Point principal, "You certainly do have a problem here." This came from a board member whose very schools were the ones these students had forsaken. Reality testifies that this man and the staff of District 309 were the dismal failures.

These incidents reflect the attitude of the school board of District 309. It was assumed that they were primarily concerned about funds and fiscal responsibility. However, the Pine Point project was their responsibility as well. They should have provided strong leadership for the program, the first full year they did not exercise their strength.

The second year saw the appointment of a new Pine Point director. Apparently things went well administratively, but the students, teachers, and community were not included in many activities. Parent and staff excitement at being involved deteriorated. The new director made no substantial changes, but rather attempted to maintain an existing program without creating discord with the administration. Evidently the Park Rapids officials were pleased by this, and complimented him on being a fine administrator. The Indian community was of course paying the consequences. But as long as backs were being patted and no political dissension was evident among administrators, there was no necessity for concern about Indian students and parents.



Another example of the political powerlessness of the local Indian community was manifest when the Indian Advisory Board unanimously passed a resolution creating a new part-time position at the school. It was a position which an Indian was to fill; as co-director of the program with special defined responsibilities. (It should be noted that another director had succeeded to that position, a non-Indian, selected over an Indian in the spring of 1972.)

The Director and the Superintendent of District 309 met and verified for the record that there would be no additional funds required for the position. The cost would be approximately $2,600. The Superintendent then met with the

Indian community and was told of their desire to have an Indian, the person who founded the program, as project co-director. He said he would take this request back to his board for their consideration.

This resolution of the Indian Advisory Board was unanimously rejected by the district board. There were two district meetings at which the issue was discussed. At the first of these two meetings, according to the *Park Rapids Enterprise*, the board first discussed another request: for school cooperation in an evangelism program sponsored by several local churches. In response to a question about the legal ramifications of the request, the Superintendent was quoted as saying, "There are some laws you can ignore if nobody makes a fuss."

The district board then listened to representatives of the Indian Advisory Board, the Pine Point faculty, the community, and the director all speak in favor of their resolution. The issue was tabled. At that point the Indian representatives walked out of the meeting. A week later the issue was discussed further and the board voted to reject the proposal.

The comparison of the evangelism and Indian issues is instructive. In the first case, an issue of doubtful legality was favorably treated because the direction of the political breezes was clear. In the second case, a modest and financially sound request was rejected, because the board and superintendent felt it was not a politically wise move.

At this point the reservation Tribal Council passed a resolution banning the district superintendent and the board members from setting foot on Indian land which included Pine Point. The Tribal Council also stated that any person from the district staff desiring to come to Pine Point would be allowed to do so only if the Council provided him with a pass.

A final example of Park Rapids' attitudes involved an action taken by the district school board to close down the Pine Point Experimental Community School by June 30, 1973. The action was unilateral on the part of the district board: the Indian Advisory Board was not consulted or informed of it. The State Department of Education was not told of it, nor were the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the White Earth Tribal Council, or the Pine Point School director.

The district board took the action with no consideration of the fact that the State Board of Education had sanctioned a three-year operation. The program had not yet completed its third year. Additionally, there was no consideration of any evaluation of the school program. In fact, the action was taken the evening that a team of evaluators from the State Department of Education left for their office to begin writing a short evaluation which had been requested by the State Board. The issues mentioned by the district board were per pupil costs and the inefficiency of the school building.

School officials were quoted as saying that the "real reason" behind the action was to bring the question of local autonomy to a head. The board resolution does mention the desire of the Pine Point community to run its own school affairs and with the most patronizing kind of *noblesse oblige* the district board announced its endorsement of the Pine Point community's wish.

Significantly, none of this was done in cooperation with Pine Point people. We might surmise that the issue was probably a matter of affront and fear of the issue of school segregation. Pine Point apparently embarrasses Park Rapids.

On April 3 and 4, 1973, a hearing was held on the closing of the Pine Point School. The State Board of Education, Commissioner of Education, governor's representatives, and other politically responsible persons attended. The seven members of the State Board and the Commissioner of Education for the state were visibly impressed by testimony from Indian parents, Indian teachers, and other supporters. The Commissioner and State Board members later admitted that they had previously been supporting the Park Rapids' intention of closing the Pine Point School.

After hearing the testimony, the Commissioner called for immediate negotiations in order that the Pine Point Advisory Board could assume full fiscal and educational control. At this point negotiations have not been held, but a political and educational victory was won. It is doubtful that this could have come about if the local residents and community leaders did not have political know-how.

The political dimension of the experiences at Pine Point became dominant. The very existence of a program, any program at all, was in some doubt. This doubt was *not* the result of any documented failure of the school to work toward, or meet, objectives. It was not even the result of any stated dissatisfaction with the program. It was, rather, a set of complicated political issues revolving around the question *"Who is going to have decision-making power?"*

It is critical that Indian people living in Indian communities have that power. First, the self-determination drive is quite real among tribal people. This is simply another way of saying that Indian people want control and responsibility for education and other affairs. Second, the dominant society wants some kind of settlement of Indian issues and will become more demanding of this as time goes on. In other words, there will be more consideration of termination, although that will probably not be the term used. At least there will be more interest in Indian self-sufficiency on reservations.

In these terms, education and other forms of community development amount to a kind of foot race between self-sufficiency and the necessary conditions for self-sufficiency. Well known are the disastrous results of termination without adequate preparation.

Thus, education and Indian politics are interrelated in two obvious ways: (1) control of education is an important current issue in the politics within Indian communities and between those communities and the dominant society, and (2) strengthening of schools is an important part of preparing for self-sufficiency.

THE TRIBE AS A POLITICAL ENTITY

Many Indian communities, including Pine Point, are faced with this issue of segregation. The issue lurks in the motives of the district boards, sometimes surfacing in the questions of state board members or politicians. The key point is this: states assume Indians are a "race" and have defined them as a minority. Yet, very few states or Indian tribes have sought other solutions to the issue of integrating Indian students. As Indian educators, historians, politicians, or concerned Indians, it is incumbent upon us to provide leadership regarding segregation and integration. Most important we must recognize *tribes are political entities, not merely racial groups*.

The direction of a national Indian education policy is inextricably related to overall federal Indian policy. The early "civilization policy" designed to bring about assimilation of Indians into white society has not succeeded. Through treaties and because Indians were not citizens, there developed a special relationship between Indians and the federal government, which, according to Chief Justice John Marshall in 1831 "resembles that of a ward to his guardian." The treaties, the judicially evolved theory of guardianship, and the constitutional directive to regulate commerce with Indian tribes (Article I, Section 8), provided the sources of power for Congress over the years to pass laws for the special benefit of Indians, and established the Bureau of Indian Affairs to carry out those programs.

During the Eisenhower administration, both the executive and legislative branches of government sought to "terminate" the special relationship between Indians and the federal government, and to promote the full integration of Indians into the mainstream of society.

Termination, as Indian tribes know it, is the most threatening word to Indian country. This fear is pervasive and cannot be ignored by anyone attempting to understand contemporary issues.

In education, forms of termination are being carried out

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by consolidating Indian schools with white public schools. The 1967 Minnesota consolidation law could be a serious legal question, as it forced several all-Indian schools to integrate. This is contrary to the official reversal of the all-out drive for termination. This ended (unofficially, for termination still remains as a law) on September 18, 1958, when former Secretary of the Interior Fred Seaton announced that no tribe would be terminated without its consent.

Yet, if one interprets the consolidation law of 1967, he may see a distinct form of termination.

A more recent concern which tribal, state, and federal governments must consider, is the issue of Indian schools and the constitution; in particular as it relates to the 1954 Supreme Court *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision. The unique status of Indians through treaties, creation of reservations and the notion of a generalized wardship or trust responsibility, must all be kept in mind as well, as they are all interrelated, and there seem to be no distinct definitions or answers to them.

In the *Brown* decision, the Supreme Court, construing the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, declared that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," and deprive Black children of equal educational opportunities.

It does not follow, however, that general equal protection and due process standards apply across the board to Indians without modification. Several hundred years of history and a substantial body of law (5,000 statutes, 2,000 regulations, 389 treaties, 2,000 federal court decisions, and 500 opinions of the Attorney General) have defined the unique status of Indians and Indian tribes in this society. The Constitution, the judicially evolved theory of guardianship, and the inherent power of the federal government derived from its ownership of the lands which Indian tribes occupy, are the principal sources of law which differentiate Indians from all other groups.

The Constitution empowers the Congress "to regulate commerce with Indian Tribes," and it grants to the President, with the advice and consent of the Senate, the power "to make treaties." While the Commerce and Treaty clauses have been the most important constitutional sources of federal power over Indians, the war power and the power to control property of the United States and admit new states have also been significant.

The Trade Act of 1790 enabled Congress to use its constitutional powers to pass laws which affect Indian tribes and tribal members. Congress has regulated the right of Indian tribes to enter contracts, authorized Indian tribes to supervise the employment of federal employees assigned to them, and prescribe procedures for the formal organization of Indian tribal government. These statutes refer to particular groups defined in political or geographical terms.

In the case of *Worcester v. Georgia* in 1831, Chief Justice Marshall held that the State of Georgia could not regulate the internal affairs of the Cherokee Nation. He gave the following description of the status of Indians:

> "The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities. The very term 'nation' so generally applied to them, means 'a people distinct from other.' The Constitution, by declaring treaties already made, as well as those to be made, to be the supreme law of the land, admits their rank among those powers who are capable of making treaties. The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force. . . ."

In 1958, the Supreme Court in *Williams v. Lee* held that Arizona state courts had no jurisdiction over a dispute between an Anglo and an Indian arising on the Navajo reservation, because the exercise of state jurisdiction would impinge on "the right of reservation Indians to make their own laws and be ruled by them." The Court relied heavily on *Worcester v. Georgia*, and observed that despite some modification over the years, "the basic policy of *Worcester* has remained."

The decisions in *Worcester* and *Williams* reflect congressional policy in the exercise of its Commerce Power to recognize and promote Indian tribal autonomy. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 vested tribal government with the power "to prevent the sale, disposition, lease, or encumbrance of tribal lands, interests in lands, or other tribal assets without the consent of the tribe."

More recently, the principle of Indian tribal autonomy received explicit congressional endorsement in the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1968. The Indian provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 make tribal consent a conditional precedent to the assumption of state criminal or civil jurisdiction. The Act, moreover, gives express recognition to tribal ordinances and customs.

The treaty power in Article II provides a second constitutional basis for federal dealings with Indian tribes. The fact that the government dealt with Indian tribes by treaties underscores that Indian tribes had historically, and today maintain, a separate existence apart from society. Most treaties continued this separation by setting aside designated territory to be inhabited and controlled by particular Indian tribes. This separatism is supported today by a host of federal programs designed to improve the quality of life in Indian reservation communities.

In the exercise of its constitutional and other powers over Indians, Congress has enacted a comprehensive body of statutes which affects almost every aspect of a reservation Indian's life, including education, health, civil liberties, welfare, transfers of land, validity of contracts, testamentary dispositions, and expenditures of tribal funds.

The constitutional propriety of schools for Indians presents an entirely different issue from those decided on the principle that school segregation is unequal, because Indian schools are a direct result of the government's policy of treating Indian tribes as *distinct and independent political communities.* Through the exercise of the constitutional power to make treaties, wage war, and regulate commerce with Indian tribes, the federal government has set aside geographically and politically separate areas to be occupied by Indians. Federal policy has been primarily directed toward support and protection of the integrity of tribal self-government on reservations.

In the 1962 Tennessee reapportionment case, *Baker v. Carr,* the Court reviewed the "political question" doctrine, and classified cases involving the status of Indian tribes as ones which the courts treat as "political." The Court stated:

> "Prominent on the surface of any case held to involve a political question is found a *textually demonstrable constitutional commitment* of the issue to a coordinate political departments."

The constitutional commitment to the Congress of the power to regular commerce with Indian tribes *is* textually demonstrable. The establishment and operation of schools is a "regulation of commerce" within the meaning of the Constitution if the schools are training persons to take part in interstate commerce; if the schools are viewed as founded pursuant to treaties which regulate commerce; or if the establishment of schools themselves is found to stimulate and affect commerce.

Clearly, Indian schools result from the geographic and political separation of Indian nations and are not designed to promote segregation.

Indian schools are not segregated *de jure*, except to the extent that the creation of Indian reservations and continued recognition of tribal society constitutes segregation. No one could seriously argue that the Constitution *requires* the destruction of tribal society.

The state governments are confronted by the historical fact that the federal government has created and recognized Indian reservations where members of a single political and racial group reside. The constitutions of most states contain specific disclaimers to jurisdiction and control over lands lying within the boundaries of the reservations. The creation and maintenance of Indian reservations may not fairly be denominated "state action" within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. There were federal policy considerations which led to the creation of Indian reservations, and federal policy today calls for their continuance.

President Richard M. Nixon, in his message to Congress on Indian policy on July 8, 1970, spoke directly to the low quality of Indian education which he called "one of the saddest aspects of Indian life." The President declared:

> "Channelling funds to Indian tribes and communities would give Indians the ability to help shape the schools which their children attend and in some instances, to set up new school systems of their own."

In 1972, the federal government, on the basis of experience, rejected the policy of forced termination, reaffirmed its "special relationship" to Indian tribes, and encouraged reservation Indians to take greater control of schools their children attend, including the establishment of new public school systems.

Recent Supreme Court decisions *(Wright v. City of Emporia* and *United States v. Scotland Neck City Board of Education)* indicate the *courts would allow great leeway in the creation of new school districts for recognized political entities. And since states expressly recognize the existence of Indian reservations as distinct political entities, the reservations could meet the court's prerequisites.*

Under the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment, Indian schools can meet a constitutional challenge on the grounds of: (1) plenary power of Congress over Indian affairs, (2) specific treaty agreements, (3) guardianship, and (4) regulation of commerce.

The federal government can establish and maintain segregated schools for Indians and it can support Indian community-controlled schools consistent with contemporary constitutional standards. A state may deliberately create a racially-imbalanced school district at the request of Indians in order to achieve valid educational objectives. Clearly, the movement for Indian control of Indian education can live comfortably with the United States Constitution.

RECOGNITION OF POLITICS IN ALTERNATIVE SCHOOLS

In a demonstration school there are at least two things to be demonstrated: (1) reforming the educational practices — that is, doing things differently for educational reasons, and (2) reforming the power system so that innovative school programs have a chance to operate — that is, *political survival.*

Educational reform encompasses most of the experience and interest of educators. People who think at all about education tend to think first of what they want schools to be. Often, they go ahead as if the problem were a matter of getting together a set of promising ideas about schools. Such thinking ignores the problem of having the financial, organizational and political know-how to start developing a program of educational ideas.

School people with ideals about education are often politically naive. This is not meant to be demeaning, but rather, a statement of fact. The ordinary experience of persons with well-formulated ideas about education does not include experience in getting, holding, and building political power.

Persons in positions of school political power such as school superintendents and school board members are often educationally naive. They tend to be selected (in the case of superintendents) or elected (in the case of school boards) on the grounds of how well they manage the affairs of a school system. Management usually means taking care of the political pressures from the community. Most of the current pressures are economic, and many can be summed up as the "taxpayer revolt" we are currently experiencing. How often does a school board election center around issues of educational approach and effectiveness compared to centering around issues of local levies, state aids, or participation in federal programs which bring money? For example, the innovative program at Pine Point was accepted by the district board after it became clear the program would bring in substantial federal Johnson-O'Malley money and would not require *any* local investment.

This is *not* saying that political growth must come before educational reform. In fact, the experience at Pine Point has been that school issues have been the focal point of political growth.

This is saying that school reform and political effectiveness are inevitably related. Anyone who believes that schools are outside of politics simply has not tried to change anything about schools. For example, our Johnson-O'Malley Advisory Board is like others in Minnesota in some ways: they do not control budgets, and in many cases they are appointed by the district superintendent or board, not elected by Indian people.

A board cannot have any real power to affect a program if it does not have fiscal authority. A board cannot represent a community if the community does not participate in the selection of the board. Getting these things to happen is political action.

I believe that school political issues comparable to these occur in other Indian communities. To that extent I'm willing to offer the following generalizations about what organizers of demonstration programs should be prepared to face and to do:

First, recognize that demonstration programs demonstrate both educational reforms and reform of the power system which is necessary to start and build a program.

Second, recognize that many people with ideas about education are politically naive and sometimes downright hostile to political action. The ordinary training and much of the early experience of educators does nothing to help with the political issues. Their training and experience is no better than that of others.

Third, recognize that many politicians are not suited to thinking very deeply about educational issues. Most politicians are necessarily concerned with getting and holding power to do things. But they need good resources to assist them in deciding what to do with their power. The worst kind of situation which can develop is when the school people think that the politicians are hopelessly corrupt, and the politicians think the school people are hopelessly idealistic. This is just another form of the divide-and-conquer technique which so often works against Indian communities.

Fourth, leadership is needed in both education and political acti[illegible] Getting the leadership together for both realms may mean h[illegible] one person or group emerge to lead on both fronts. Or it [illegible] mean coordinating the special talents of more than one person or organization. In the second case, someone will have to take the responsibility for getting things coordinated. Having just one person who is both educationally and politically aware is unusual. The interests are in some ways incompatible. But sometimes such people can be found or do emerge. In such a case it is great news for the project.

Fifth, regardless of the leadership source there is going to have to be a wide range of talent to make a demonstration program work well, both educational and political. Within both of these areas there will have to be a wide range of skills and interest: from idea-producers, through public relations specialists to clerical experts.

Sixth, communication is a requirement, particularly critical for new programs. At least four lines of communication are necessary. Political action and school people need good communication within their own staffs. These two groups need communication with each other. Both need good communication with the community. And both need good lines to agencies and persons outside the community.

In short, cooperative attitudes have to be encouraged and maintained. For while educational thinking without political action can degenerate into a romantic ego trip, political action without goals of educational reform can decline into a power ego trip.

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WHY DO INDIAN STUDENTS DROP OUT OF COLLEGE?

Arthur McDonald

One of the areas of great concern regarding American Indian students is the phenomenal dropout rate. Estimates of dropout in higher education range from a low of 79 percent to a high of 93 percent. Regardless which statistic is used, it is perfectly clear that the dropout rate of Indian students in higher education is exceptionally alarming. The following is data and information on Indian dropouts which I have collected from Indian people themselves.

Immediately the problem of basic value systems becomes apparent. White universities are not geared to understand the complexity of the so-called "Indian problem." Those institutions continue to respond with the assumption that all Indians are the same. Programs involving counseling and curriculum planning do not seem capable of recognizing that dropout is a complex problem. The lack of consistency in objectives and motives of the Indian students continually hampers research. This was most apparent when interviewing Indians with a reservation value system as opposed to Indian students with a more traditional mainstream Anglo-American value system. The data was thus collected in terms of reservation value systems and urban American value systems. It is not the purpose of this essay to stimulate emotional outbursts involved with the definition of reservation versus urban Indian life. The point is, however, that a careful analysis of an individual's values clearly indicates which general group he is in.

While definitions are over-generalized, the conflicts in values are more closely related to rural versus urban, than to values expressed by either Cheyenne, or Sioux, or Blackfeet students. This essay, then, fully recognizes and acknowledges tribal differences and in no way attempts to lump various tribal cultures together as white institutions have been prone to do.

The basic causes of dropout will be listed and discussed as a matter of fact, and then each cause will be discussed in more detail with my own personal interpretation, gathered from interviews of Indian students. The essay is not designed, therefore, to speak for any particular Indian tribe, nor for the population of Indians.

A summary of the material obtained through interviews with Indian students indicates the following list of dropout causes stated by the students themselves: (1) the nature and quality of previous education; (2) personal finances; (3) institutional racism, coupled with the experience of personal discrimination; (4) the lack of persuasive role models available to the student; (5) cultural differences between the student and the institution.

It should be pointed out that it was the consensus of the group interviewed that only the first item, previous education, reflects any hierarchical value in this list. In other words, poor education was high on everyone's list. From there on, however, the other items were not ranked, because many students felt that some additional causes were more important than others. Remembering that all of the students interviewed were in fact in school at the time, and also that 26 of the people interviewed were dropouts who had attended college to some extent, this data must be viewed from the standpoint of the participants, not from that of the excuse-making administrations.

As indicated above, previous *education* is a major stumbling block to successful higher education for many Indian students. Those readers who have gone through reservation or near-reservation schools will understand that Indian education has been in a very deplorable mess. Beginning in 1968, with Senator Robert F. Kennedy's Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, the nation became aware of the virtual lack of adequate educational training given to Indians. There are exceptions, but speaking primarily for reservation situations, the history of educational preparation is very grim. The students and other interviewees from the reservation perspective were in almost unanimous agreement that they were not prepared to compete with other university students. The reservation students felt the transition from high school to university was extremely difficult in that the total environment and attitude were alien. On the other hand, white students from larger communities complained that the university was nothing more than an extension of their high school experience.

Education should incorporate the objective of teaching students to learn how to survive in a particular environment. At the present time curricula are pretty much standardized to teach students survival in a white, middle-class society. Unfortunately, that social situation is totally inappropriate for minority students. It is my personal belief that it is inappropriate for almost all other students as well. For students wishing to travel that road, it should be made available, and it is the responsibility of the educational system to prepare them for higher education. At the same time it is the responsibility of educational institutions, from elementary systems on up, to educate children with the objective of survival in whatever particular environment that child may choose. If it is a reservation environment, then the responsible institutions have the obligation to gear materials in a meaningful and relevant way to reservation life. It is preposterous, arrogant and morally wrong to expose the child only to the values and objectives of Judeo-Christian ethics.

For example, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation in Montana, like other reservations, has a large cadre of old people who have a vast knowledge concerning their own tribe beyond that of anthropologists and historians. This information can be tapped in meaningful ways for the education of the younger generation of Cheyennes. A research team could be trained to collect botanical specimens and preserve them for identification, utilizing the standard techniques of most university systems in botany. This can be done with much less training time than is necessary to become a botanist. High school students could be utilized spring, summer and during the fall to collect these specimens. As they were preserved and presented for identification, the consulting botanist could provide the Latin name, the students could give the common English name, and the old people could give the Cheyenne name. In addition, the old people could provide identification and discussion of what the plant means in terms of the environment and the Northern Cheyenne people. Bilingual programs could then incorporate this material into textbook form, to be used as a science text throughout the entire educational system. The spin-off for education and knowledge transmittal in terms of relevance and traditional teaching is phenomenal. The interaction between the young students and their environment, including the respect for elders and their knowledge, would have little parallel in white society. Other subject matter could be approached in a similar way, culminating in an education that was relevant to the students, involved diverse members of the community, met objectives of education and perhaps even educated some teachers.

Expanding this idea into areas such as political science, government, history, child development and inter-personal relationships is extremely exciting and totally feasible. Although this may not seem related to the problem of dropouts in education, it is my opinion that making education interesting and relevant at the local level has an excellent chance of stimulating interest and motivation to learn at all levels. It is my further opinion that the present irrelevant materials used in education disinterest students in the whole learning process, thus producing no intrinsic motivation for learning new materials.

The second item on the list is that of *finances*. Obviously, higher education is for the monied classes. The cost of going to college is prohibitive even for the majority of white middle-class parents. However, the Indian student finds it even more difficult to finance a college education. For example, whites can go to various lending agencies such as banks, and borrow money on future credit to finance their children's educations. This alternative simply is not available to reservation Indians. In many cases such as with the Montana State University system, it is the law, both federal and state, that Indian students may attend college in the system, tuition-free. The rhetoric looks good, but in actuality the program is close to being a deliberate and distorted lie. In the first place, Montana does not charge tuition as such. Rather, a complex fee system is put upon the student. The student ends up paying as much in fees as the so-called fee waiver. Other rather insidious policies include such things as allowing a time delay in getting the student fee waivers approved so that the student ends up paying the maximum late registration fee. In addition, the university business office puts together a so-called "package" for Indian students. Since many of the students qualify for Bureau of Indian Affairs scholarship funds or tribal funds, financial aid offices juggle funds from one source to another, coming up with an individualized package that reduces the

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student to the same minimal amount, regardless of qualifications. The final upshot is that the Indian student does not have the kind of assistance that is necessary for survival in a college town. He ends up with virtually no spending money, money for clothes and the other things that are essential for the development of high morale and peace of mind. He seldom has money for transportation, and thus becomes easily discouraged. This discouragement naturally generalizes to the total academic environment.

When the Indian student must live with others who are obviously much better off, it is little wonder that he eventually leaves the academic institution. In discussing these programs and problems with financial aid personnel, they often point to the fact that most Indian students qualify for work study programs. But when we consider the kind of disadvantage produced by the lack of adequate educational preparation, it becomes ridiculous to expect the Indian student to take on a work study job, putting in 15 to 20 hours in addition to his studies. This kind of insensitive solution to the financial aid problem of minority students in general, is typical of most bureaucratic problem-solving methods.

There have been many efforts on the part of well-meaning people to unlock the doors of higher education. Unfortunately, people become self-satisfied with their own benevolent efforts, and tend to forget that students who are culturally, educationally and financially disadvantaged need to have more. The door cannot be simply unlocked. Rather it must be opened completely, or the disadvantaged do not have a glimpse of what is on the other side. Programs must be developed that will allow these students to go through the door and into the environment on the other side, if they choose to do so.

The third item is what can only be identified as *racism*. The racist policies of institutions can be of several different kinds. The relatively more subtle, but still insidious, institutional racism that seems to be inherent in most bureaucratic organizations will be discussed first.

Students all over the country have demonstrated their concern and displeasure over faculty and administration attitudes towards them as inferior beings. Their words are seldom listened to and virtually never heard. Unfortunately, bureaucracies develop programs "for" the students, just as the various federal agencies develop programs "for" Indians. In the students' case they have been much more demanding and violent in their opposition to this kind of patronism. The problem, of course, is not a simple one. Having served considerable time as a faculty member and as an administrator, I have a rather biased opinion as to the dynamics of institutional racism. Beginning with the department level in a discipline such as psychology, the professors spend a great deal of time each year or every other year modifying curriculum. New courses are initiated; old ones are abandoned. Particular courses are modified in terms of objectives and materials. Credit hours are discussed, changed, and deleted. Laboratory courses are initiated and the like. The single characteristic, however, is that almost never are students involved in this decision-making process. The simple-minded argument usually presented is that students either do not care or are incapable of making rational and meaningful decisions concerning these matters. However, when all of these high-powered faculty brains are combined, the end result is highly predictable: the new curriculum is modified typically toward more stringent controls as to what the students will take and how they will go about getting their degrees. The ultimate objective is designed for preparatory training to maximize the success of the student in graduate school. No account is taken of the fact that in most cases less than seven to eight percent of the students graduating in that curriculum will actually go on to graduate school. Virtually no account is taken of the other ninety-some percent. Nobody bothers to ask the students what they really have in mind in majoring in that particular discipline, or for that matter in the overall objective of going to college. It is assumed that preparing students for entering graduate school is the highest value. I think this assumption should be challenged. Until it is, there is little hope that faculties will be responsive to Indian student needs.

Racist attitudes do not apply just to faculty-student relationships, but permeate the entire institution as well. For example, there are many roadblocks and hurdles through the ladder of instructor, lecturer, assistant professor, associate professor, full professor, department head, dean, vice president and president. The particular road leading to promotions is fairly well known throughout the entire academic institution. It runs something like this: "Don't let anyone know that you think and don't let anyone see you interacting with students. If you feel you must speak at faculty gatherings, make sure you impress the right people with your platitudinous mouthings. Most important never criticize anyone except students."

Another symptom of the fixated institution, is the reliance on tradition and dogmas that are negative from the Indian student's standpoint. These include the whole business of guidelines, standards, requirements, and prerequisites. These stumbling blocks, initiated at the whim of faculty and administrators, are simply incomprehensible to the Indian student. It is argued that students should not be treated differentially. But this is a form of reverse racism. The confusion is racism based upon race, and racism based upon institutional classifications. Using one set to argue against the other is not only poor logic, but also simpleminded.

Various schools, departments and staff have made arguments that they cannot find Indian students who are "qualified" because they do not come up to a normalized score or standard for admission into their particular program. This argument is also invalid because it stems from ignorance as to what standards mean. The standards of excellence for a particular program must be measured in terms of the final end product or they make no sense at all. In other words, standards must be evaluated and established in terms of the program's final objectives; not the admission objectives. If the material in the training program is worth teaching and is taught properly, then it should be teachable and testable in a way that makes sense. A student failing to learn material is more often an indictment of testing, teaching and materials. But that failure is usually viewed in a limited fashion, as a failure on the part of the student.

The other kind of racism evidenced is more straightforward-personal discrimination. This needs little discussion because readers are well aware of it. However, the loss in dignity and morale are certainly detrimental, and contribute to the dropout problem. How many times is an Indian referred to as "Chief" or "Tonto" or "squaw" during his or her off-reservation experience?

The next item, *Role Models*, should really be listed *Lack of Role Models*. This problem of Indian students is one that few white academicians can understand. Basically the problem is that there are few Indians in positions such as doctors, lawyers, dentists, scientists, administrators, college instructors, or any of the professions requiring academic credentials. To demonstrate and illustrate the effects of the lack of role models, I had two trainees conduct a quick survey of students in the Bozeman, Montana elementary school system and the Lame Deer, Montana elementary system. Children in grades one through four were interviewed and questioned concerning future goals and expectancies. One of the more striking sets of differences involved answers to the very simple question,"What would you like to be when you grow up?" The white children from Bozeman schools gave some very sophisticated answers. One second grader's response: "I'm going to be a paleontologist and study dinosaurs." The answers, where there were any, by the Indian children were almost devoid of identification in the professional areas. For example, there were no doctors, lawyers, scientists or even Indian chiefs. Only two of the 37 children interviewed indicated that they wanted to be a teacher, and in both of these cases an additional qualification was made: "Like Mrs. So-and-So" (who happens to be an Indian teacher's aide).

According to some recent efforts by the National Institute of Health to identify minority scientists in the biomedical fields, (biology, chemistry, physics, and psychology), there are less than 10 Ph.D. scientists that are also enrolled tribal members. There are numerous academicians with a "trace" of blood going back to some Cherokee princess, but, considering the requirement of enrolled tribal members, the number is incredibly small. I think the last count of members of the American Indian Association of Physicians includes twenty-two M.D.'s; Dr. George Blue Spruce, a Laguna Pueblo, can confirm the fact that he represents one half of the entire population of Indian dentists. The end result is that the Indian child does not have role models available, and thus does not consider professional training as an occupation. The Indian child does not have to question, as white children do, the possibilities that might be available to him in a professional area.

Although most of the preceding information has come from Indian dropouts, one interesting difference in students who did not drop out was centered around the counseling problem. For the most part, Indian student comments tended to run thus: "If I had known what was going on, I could have done things differently." Most of the criticisms were that the counseling at all levels, from high school throughout their entire academic career, had provided misinformation or channeled them into vocational-technical or community college routes; not because of ability, but because they were Indian. As most people who have been through the academic process are aware, it takes a great deal of goal-setting to tolerate it long enough to be credentialized. The lack of role models certainly contributes to the weaker motivation of Indian students and makes them potential dropouts.

The last item to be discussed will be differences in cultural values that are germane to the Indian student dropout problem. Obviously, from everything that has been said so far, Indian students are different from other students. One of these differences is the culture the particular student comes from; be it Cheyenne, Crow, Sioux or whatever. Since the students interviewed were from a rather diverse group, the specific cultural differences peculiar to individual tribes will not be discussed. However, there are some generalizable cultural values that produce conflicts and contribute to the dropout problem.

In the non-Indian value system, the concept of time is very important. Time is measured in a quantitative sense. Jobs, meetings, parties, education are all divided up into temporal units during the day and for the future. If a person makes an appointment for 1:30 p.m., it is crucial that he be there at that time or the other person feels he has lost time. In other words, the person who is late has stolen something by not being there.

An example of the white cultural value pushed to its extreme, is the school system's policy of sending a child's report card home with the number of times he was tardy clearly marked on it. Do you suppose that if a child were three minutes late everyday of the school year that he would be flunked? Would this truly be an indication that the child had failed? The reservation culture, on the other hand, treats time as being relative. A person's existence is prioritized according to the immediate task. Clock-watching and compulsive punctuality do not exist. People come to meetings when they are through doing something else. The important thing is the meeting; not arriving at a precise time. Obviously, this difference in values produces a very definite conflict in the student attempting to matriculate at one of the traditional academic institutions. Unfortunately it is the sole responsibility of the student to change his values because the institution will not.

Another complex set of values that produce conflict centers around the concept of expanded time. Non-Indian culture uses a rationalizing process to escape from the everyday world by dumping the responsibility for failure and thought onto the future. Lack of strong personal belief and lack of faith in personal values lead to this value system. Children are taught in the schools to prepare for the future, to get educated, to "be good," so they may go to Heaven when this life is over. But even more important psychologically, is the concept of being punished or responsible for one's behavior after death. Indian culture is much more pragmatic, with behavior geared primarily to being responsive to the day-to-day world. There is virtually no concept of saving for a rainy day, or hardly any other futuristic goals and objectives. The philosophical sophistication and psychological soundness of the Indian philosophy would put to shame most of the academic gabblers in these particular disciplines. Nevertheless, from the standpoint of the Indian student dropout, it makes it very difficult to pressure him to com[illegible] class, work hard, and get good grades for some futuristic goal which is really unimportant and of questionable value.

Indian values preclude the concept of sacrifice and training for a future end. It is very easy to see then that the student from the reservation is difficult to motivate when standard traditional academic values are assumed, because those values simply are not self-motivating for the Indian student.

Another set of values producing lack of understanding between the two cultures relates to the family. In the Judeo-Christian culture, the family carries with it rather clear-cut definitions and expectations of responsibility. When a child becomes an adult in the white world he is on his own. He is expected to be independent and legally responsible. If one's brother participates in socially unacceptable behavior, shame is brought to the family name. This seems to miss the point. There is little shame or concern about the fact that the behavior was detrimental to the community. Rather, a great deal of emphasis is placed upon the reputation of the family. At the same time, misfortune occurring to outlying members of the family such as grandparents, uncles and aunts, or cousins, while unfortunate, are not considered the responsibility of the family. The basic principle seems to be: "You take care of yours and I'll take care of mine," with *mine* being defined as the immediate nuclear family.

In the traditional Indian value system, the family is much extended in terms of caring and responsibility. Aunts are often considered to be mothers, uncles are called fathers, and cousins are brothers and sisters of the immediate family. Clan members are considered "relatives." The philosophical generalizations must be understood between the two systems before any of the rest of the values can truly make sense. In the western European tradition the greatest good has been the development and perpetuation of the self. Although some lip-service is paid by Christian doctrines to praying for others, primarily the ultimate objective is personal salvation. Day-to-day behavior is geared toward this objective in terms of economics, religious values, education, status-needs and family relationships. This produces an extremely competitive, consumptive, exploitative interaction with the environment and with other people.

The traditional Indian culture by contrast has as the ultimate good the survival of the tribe. The individual is expendable in the sense that one does what is good for other people at the sacrifice of individual goals and objectives. This is seen in a variety of behaviors, such as the "give-away" ceremony. Those that have, share what they have with others as a point of honor. In white society, a housewarming ceremony provides much anxiety for the new homeowner as he tries to impress people with his possessions. In Indian culture, people give away their material possessions in an act of sharing. The more you share, the more honor, prestige and status you enjoy. Indians do not collect material things for status symbols as found in white culture. Thus, in many cases the principle of higher education and the credentializing process is hard to incorporate into the sharing concept because it is seen as individual and personal gain, with little applicability to other people.

Returning to the extended family concept, it is often difficult for people living in an academic environment to understand the tremendous sense of responsibility a student may have towards apparently distant relatives. In Indian culture, if one is asked to help, he simply cannot refuse. Thus, a student who receives a phone call telling him he is needed at home will go. The threat of receiving an *F* for a course is of little relative importance. If he is needed, he is needed. The fact that administrative officials do not understand what is real and true to the Indian community is very bewildering to the Indian student.

A final consideration that is difficult for the white community to understand involves most of the philosophical, sociological, psychological and religious values previously discussed. In the rural white community, the fact that a son or daughter has left the farm to pursue a college education is pointed out with great pride. The family will make great sacrifices to get their children into higher education. In small communities everyone points with civic pride to those who have "gone on and amounted to something." In the more traditional reservation culture, if a child makes the decision to leave the reservation and go to the university and get a white man's education, the community is not enthusiastic. In other words, it is a clear-cut decision that the person has made to reject the old traditional ways and go the white man's road. It is generally assumed that the person is lost to the traditional community. Many Indian students who have completed their degrees find it extremely difficult to return to their reservation to work. This seems to be truer of the smaller northern reservations than others according to the Indian students, and it is definitely a factor in reservation settings such as the Northern Cheyenne. There is mistrust toward an Indian who has obtained an education, and the educated Indian must face a rather continuous attack by family as well as others for having that education. It must be remembered that a white man's education is viewed as such by the Indian community. I have counseled several Indian students who have dropped out just prior to graduation because they were forced to make that decision, and some chose to go back to the reservation feeling that they would be accepted more easily if they did not bring back a degree.

White communities and academic institutions which promote token Indian Studies Programs are either hypocritically paying little attention to the historical facts of their profession, or are simply deaf to the messages presented by Indians concerning the difference in educational values. For example, on June 17, 1774, the Commissioners from Maryland and Virginia negotiated a Treaty with Six Nations at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The Indians were invited to send their boys to William and Mary College. The next day the Indians declined the offer in this manner: "We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges, and that the maintenance of our young men, while with you, would be very expensive to you. We are convinced that you mean to do us good by your proposal; and we thank you heartily, but you who are wise, must know that different Nations have different conceptions of things; and you will therefore not take it amiss, if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the College of the Northern Provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences but when they came back to us, they were bad Runners, ignorant of every means of living in the Woods . . . Neither fit for Hunters, Warriors, nor Counsellors, they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less oblig'd by your kind offer, tho' we decline accepting it; and, to show our grateful sense of it; if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons, we will take care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them."

In summary, differences in values, overall objectives, and daily life styles exist for the reservation Indian. These create numerous conflicts that contribute to the eventual dropout problem. Unfortunately, teachers and administrators of academic institutions from pre-school through post-graduate study do not understand this. They truly believe they know all the answers and that their system of values is the only one to be followed. Otherwise, the Indian value system would have been incorporated into school systems serving Indian children many years ago. Unfortunately, schools serving large numbers of Indian children have been more white than many of the predominantly white schools.

Yet in terms of workable knowledge about welfare, religion, philosophy, psychology, family relations, environmental studies, ecology, botony and zoology, Indian people are far ahead of Ph.D. academians.

Indian people in general laugh at academicians who come to the reservation to study what they call "truth," when in point of fact they only know a very limited kind of truth. They are ignorant of the fact that there are numerous other ways of determining truth beyond the scientific method. As long as academic institutions ignore this fact, they will continue to be pointed out in wonderment, and be laughed at for their silly ways by the Indian people.

For example, books used at numerous institutions concerning communication skills such as group interaction, communal living, the extended family, and body language are treated as very naive by Indian students.

It is my opinion that the dropout problem will continue until institutions learn to accept other values and learn that there are other meaningful life objectives. Until teachers, administrators and institutions are developed which are "Indian" in philosophy, attitude and values, the dropout rate will continue to be high among American Indian students.

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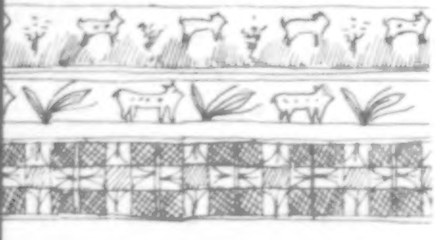
INDIAN "HEAD START" PROGRAMS – THE CHILD IN THE PROCESS OF BECOMING

Faye Reeves, Gretchen Peniska, Jean Heemstra

Every society has provided a way of preparing its young to live within the culture of that society, to understand and live by its values, to become a socialized member of that society. This process begins before birth, continues through infancy and early childhood, following successive stages into the age of adulthood as determined by the particular societal group. Systems of socialization have ranged from comparatively simple to extremely complex, utilizing a variety of individuals, institutions and organizations. The socialization process itself has not remained static throughout time but has gradually, sometimes explosively, undergone change to fit the setting in which the group finds itself. Increasing concern about the results of such a system or sub-systems marks many areas in the contemporary scene in the United States.

Urie Bronfenbrenner in his book, *Two Worlds of Childhood*, (p. 1) states:

> How can we judge the worth of a society? On what basis can we predict how well a society will survive and prosper? Many indices could be used for this purpose, among them the Gross National Product, the birth rate, crime statistics, mental health data, etc. . . . We propose yet another criterion: The concern of one generation for the next. If the children and youth of a nation are afforded the opportunity to develop their capacities to the fullest, if they are given the knowledge to understand the world and the wisdom to change it, then the prospects for the future are bright. In contrast, a society which neglects its children, however well it may function in other respects risks eventual disorganization and demise.



In this country, the process occurs in a series of social contexts beginning with the family but then proceeding to other settings such as pre-schools, churches, schools, neighborhoods, communities, religous groups and other structures appropriate to the diverse cultures within the national boundaries.

Traditionally, the training of children has been left to the discretion of parents alone until the child reaches legal school age (generally at six).

Schools have come to be regarded as the educational agent quite separated from that of the family in function and purpose, although cognizance is given to the reality that the child is affected by both the school and the family. Diverse cultural groups have carried on their own socializing processes, or attempted to do so, in their own communities, creating two worlds for children.

Recently, certain kinds of educational programs have been designated as "compensatory" or "remedial" as forms of educational intervention to make up "deficiencies" found in the achievement of some children, usually in terms of the dominant society. Thus, education — formal education — is not always perceived as intervention unless it is labeled as such in a special category. Basically, education is a type of intervention in that it changes the lives of individuals. Whether carried on by the family, the school or some other agency, it is an attempt to help the child (whatever his background) to become a competent adult. Seen in historical perspective, the school has functioned in support of the family in this molding process and their joint effort is intended to prepare the child to maintain the values of the dominant society.

The reader is correct if he feels that this is a somewhat simplistic view. Robert Hess in his book, *Teachers of Young Children*, (p. 18) writes that the process is much more complex in "eras of social, economic, political and scientific change. Conditions have so altered educational needs that they have forced changes in the values of adults responsible for the training of young children — values more suited to contemporary circumstances. Children are now being socialized for change. This means that the school no longer supports the family's values and patterns of behavior, especially in poor and minority communities. It also introduces new ideas and attitudes."

Some of the first efforts in such "eras of change" to alleviate the detrimental effects of the high dropout rate in high school with certain populations found federal monies providing programs in these communities which proposed to decrease excessive attrition. This proved relatively ineffective, however, and attention was turned to programs for children in the elementary grades. Success was not spectacular and many thinking people became convinced that effort was needed at even earlier levels.

Such thinking was not so much a discovery of the

contemporary scene as might seem apparent. History provides numerous examples of references to child-rearing. The White House Conference in 1950 approved of early education in the form of kindergartens and nursery schools as a "desirable supplement" to the home. The kindergarten movement had been gaining momentum since the late 1800's and various types of nursery schools and day care centers showed sporadic growth from the 1920's through the early 1960's. Each White House Conference repeated this viewpoint in different phrases and with increasing emphasis coming from varied segments of American society. By 1960 the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association recommended that all children aged four or over have the opportunity to go to school at public expense. The reality of such an opportunity was less emphatic since the education of children under the age of six was unconstitutional using public funds in some states. Further, even if not illegal, local school districts and parents were relatively reluctant to "school" young children. One cannot help but wonder about the experiences of parents in their own school days.

The year 1965 opened new doors for young children and their families everywhere. The administration in the White House focused on social legislation to wage a War on Poverty, the New Frontier. The potential of early childhood programs as one of the weapons in that all-out war was reviewed and included as Project Head Start in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964.

This was not just another educational program extended downward but was designed as a *comprehensive* child development program to meet the needs of the young child *and his family* within the community setting of low-income and minority populations. Each program was individualized in terms of the local community's perception of its own unique needs. Goals were to be determined by the community; this same community was to design the planning, implementation and evaluation of a coordinated action involving all community resources to achieve the desired results.

The first summer program in 1965, hurriedly put together and considered experimental, enrolled 561,000 children for eight weeks prior to school entrance. Hopes were high that the predictable failure of "these" children in school would be ameliorated by this brief experience, although the original designers had not proposed such an illusion. Grants were funded to communities for locally developed projects in Appalachia, inner-city ghettoes, remote rural areas, Eskimo villages, suburbia, Indian reservations, barrios and among migrant groups.

Since then Head Start projects have grown to include full-year programs for children of age three and above. The concept of a comprehensive developmental approach has been extended downward to younger children and upward into the primary grades. The components included in such an approach have been consistent in a broad range of programmatic aspects, i.e., career development, health and nutrition, education, social and mental health services and parents participation.

The state of the science of early education is succinctly put by James O. Miller in his book, *The National Laboratory*, (p. 5)

> The year 1965 must stand as a landmark year in early childhood education. The administration's investment in the war on poverty created Head Start. Head Start was a singular commitment to young children at the federal level. While there had been other federally sponsored programs for day care, they had not been directed toward serving the needs of young children per se, but were instituted to provide child care for women employed in critical war and defense industries during the 40's. Support for pre-primary education had come mainly from middle class and upper middle class parents concerned with developing social and group experiences for their children. Other private programs existed providing day care for children of working mothers. A number of universities had nursery school facilities associated with minor training programs. These facilities also served the research interests of professionals concerned with child development during the early years. It is fair to say that no national commitment nor universal interest in the field was evident prior to 1965.

Community Action Agencies operated Head Start programs under the Office of Economic Opportunity until July 1, 1969, when authorities were delegated to the newly created Office of Child Development in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Under the direction of this new agency in the Office of the Secretary of HEW, Head Start has remained a uniquely local program utilizing content and techniques which have been gleaned from the areas of early learning, developmental concepts, community involvement and parent participation articulated through research, experimentation and pilot programs.

Many influences have been reflected in the actual operation of Head Start and other early childhood programs such as the civil rights movement, the women's liberation movement, demand for universal child care, various ethnic perceptions, political expediency, social welfare legislation, professional controversies about child growth, family structures and options congruent with that structure, early learning curricula, evaluation expenditures, and presidential preferences.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Indian Tribal Councils in Nebraska, South Dakota and North Dakota demonstrated leadership in the establishment of Head Start Centers on the reservations to obtain funds for the summer pilot programs in 1965 and in submitting proposals for the full year programs the following year. The Tribes were the first grantees operating full-year programs for several years under their Community Action Agencies funded from the Special Fields Programs in OEO, Washington, D.C. Head Start programs in other communities in these states typically were funded to local school districts by OEO for the summer only. Eventually three or four communities in each state developed full-year programs.

The basic philosophy of the national Head Start guidelines proposed that (1) the young child can benefit most from a comprehensive interdisciplinary attack on his total needs at the local level and (2) the child's entire family as well as the community must be involved in such intervention. Thus, local Tribal Councils (elected representatives of their people) were responsible for the design and operation of a community-based program meeting the national guidelines of health, educational, social and psychological services to young children with their families. Staffing flexibility provided positions for qualified professional personnel and career opportunities for indigenous para-professionals. Parents were encouraged to actively participate in the program. Training resources, in addition to technical assistance, was provided through the federal funding agency.

The usual staffing pattern in the Head Start classrooms was a teacher and an aide for the 15-20 children considered a maximum for effective grouping at this age level. (National guidelines added the stipulation that a volunteer, or unpaid position, be present to provide the ratio of one adult for every five to seven children. Logistical and psychological realities prevented the implementation for such a ratio in most reservation classrooms.) A bus driver and a cook were also employed from the local community. Each tribal project had a Head Start Director, a secretary, and some arrangement for financial management. Usually this function was performed by the local Community Action Agency bookkeeper. Possible variations might include a social worker, nurse, classroom social service aides and parent coordinator. Because of limited funds it was rare to see more than one of these additional staff persons in a program.

Children enrolled in the tribal programs came from Indian and non-Indian families, at least ninety percent of whom had to meet low-income guidelines. Preference was given to children who would be entering the local elementary school, usually the first grade (during the early years of Head Start) because of the lack of kindergartens in the schools, i.e., federal schools (Bureau of Indian Affairs), parochial mission schools and public school districts.

General programmatic procedures for the Head Start programs, directed from the national office in Washington through the Indian Division of the Special Fields Programs in OEO, required fairly extensive transformation from an urban ghetto perspective to the reality of multi-cultural, bilingual prairie reservations in the Dakotas and Nebraska. Socialization and enrichment goals of the traditional nursery school were promoted by the "Rainbow Series," published as guides for each of the program components by the national office. Although one of the series did focus upon the cognitive development of the young child as part of the comprehensive approach, this edition was soon withdrawn as a typical example of the professional ambivalence concerning the possible "harmful" effects of a planned program to foster intellectual growth. Much later in the history of Head Start, this particular publication was re-issued when cognition became more respectable in the comprehensive development of the child.

Attempts to find solid baseline data upon which to build a more systematic content for young children in the Indian communities were revealing although not too productive. It did seem that there ought to be options available to the local people which could be chosen by them as appropriate for what they wanted for their children, relevant to their environment, culture, language and life-style.

In February, 1969, a limited printing was distributed through the Special Committee on Indian Education (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, United States Senate), of *The Education of American Indians: A Survey of the Literature* by Dr. Brewton Berry. Of the some 708 references dated from 1898 to 1968, not more than a dozen could be considered even remotely related to early childhood of Indian children. None cited articles about Indian children living on the upper Great Plains.

Such a paucity should not be surprising when the field of early childhood studies in the three states was fairly undeveloped, especially in the Dakotas, with even private nursery schools and day care centers almost non-existent — with the exception of the few cities. State funds in North Dakota could not constitutionally be used to support education for children under six. Federal schools could not fund kindergartens with their regular appropriations. The concept of early childhood education as a discipline of its own found little understanding or credibility under the circumstances.

Head Start programs were generally popular with the Plains tribes and the local communities, although not without controversial issues. The grants were administered directly by the Tribal Councils through their Community Action Agencies. That is, there were no schools or other groups serving as delegate agencies to administer the programs (except for several centers on one reservation for a short period). A variety of opinions was publicly and privately expressed as to the value of such administration. School officials enviously spoke of what could have been accomplished under their administration with "all that money." Others saw it as discrimination in favor of some children and against others. The stigma of welfare was sometimes attached with strong emphasis on the total deprivation of "these children." In some cases, Head Start was viewed as interference by the federal government designed to force the "frill" of kindergarten onto school districts.

Employment of local people in staff positions perpetuated certain community biases and added fuel for local jealousies. For example, one teacher aide position advertisement resulted in 13 applicants from one very small community. Understandably, the final selection produced 12 dissatisfied non-advocates of the program since this was the only available job of any kind. As staff members continued to benefit economically from their employment, there was some confrontation, with personal conflict and mistrust, within the local community. There were instances of such episodes between husbands and wives as well as between families. A possible explanation for marital tension in such cases could be that women were predominantly employed, receiving not only financial rewards but advancing educationally through the career development and training emphasis provided through Head Start.

The duality of Head Start in its design for children *with* their families often polarized to *either* children *or* adults. Indeed, in the first years of Head Start it was possible to detect open resentment that funds were being spent on young children when there were such extremely obvious adult needs. Employment preference for Head Start jobs was recommended for older people who might be less likely to find employment in other poverty programs. This reflected a common attitude that

anyone can work in a program with little children, since all they do is play. Standards of excellence in a program which focused on the first five years of life were not too well understood or supported in many places in this country. More visible and critical issues were felt by local residents, trying to eke out a submarginal existence.

The delegation of Head Start to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare in 1969 resulted in the Indian and Migrant Programs Division attempting to strengthen the agency as an advocate for Indian grantees, extending into many areas which affect the environment of young children in Indian communities. Such an advocacy role has required much time and energy by IMPD to sensitize the central agency (Office of Child Development) to the unique needs of Indian communities to obtain the necessary financial and human resources to carry out the letter and intent of Head Start programming. The effort made by local Indian participants to communicate their perception of maximizing the ecology of child development has not always found a match in bureaucratic regulations and legislated procedures accompanying federal funding.

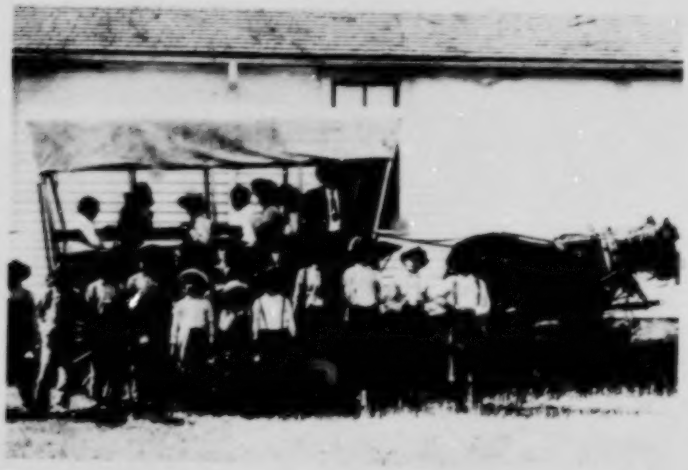
EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: PHILOSOPHICAL EVOLUTION

Like most compensatory projects, Head Start initially emphasized remediation to offset certain deficits identified with children who live in poverty characteristic of ghettoes, isolated rural pockets, migrants and Indian reservations. A plethora of books, articles, publications, instructional kits and packages, technological hardware and software, instant cures and not-so-instant recipes were addressed to the "culturally deprived" or the "disadvantaged" or the "underprivileged." Whatever the term, all underlined the label of inferiority, that "these children" were lacking and insufficient in whatever it took to be successful in the school system. Arguments of the causes ranged from genes and low I.Q.'s because of heredity to home situations which had numerous faults, such as lack of a standard language, over-stimulation, under-stimulation, no books, inadequate self-concepts, disorganized family structure, apathy, restricted verbal comprehension and so on.

Another task undertaken was directed at the schools themselves. Physical facilities and instructional materials and methods were faulted as to their quality, their appropriateness, their relevance in addition to the skills, attitudes, training of the staff, especially in schools attended by children from ethnic and minority poor communities.

Along with the pressure to find a solution to achieving in school, one might ask: "Successful compared to what?" And it did not take long before that question was asked by a number of people, not only consumers of Head Start services but others (professionals, social activists, concerned citizens, college students and middle-class parents) involved in the upsurging interest in all aspects of the early development of children.

Ethnic and minority groups insisted that adequate consideration be given to the identifiable strengths possessed by children and families, to the community life-styles, to the cultural heritage valued by them, however these were viewed by the dominant society. There was no argument about the economic conditions of unemployment, bad housing and health conditions or the price paid for these devastating disadvantages. General improvement of the economic, health, social and educational opportunities of minority groups is recognized but not at the cost of eliminating the values held by such groups. Options should be available and they must make the choices.



Instead of subscribing to the "melting pot" or acculturation goal for all peoples living in this country, segments of the population speak of cultural plurality, seeking recognition that cultural diversity is the right and responsibility of those who desire to retain, promote, emphasize, or perpetuate elements of their heritage in order to foster self-identity, pride, and self-guidance for themselves and their children. It is felt that such diversity will enrich the total society and contribute solutions to recognized social problems — although this is probably not the prime motivation for pressing the concept of cultural diversity.

Determiners of cultural elements to be included in early childhood programs are the parents of the children who are enrolled. Parent involvement has been stressed as an important component of the comprehensive Head Start program since its inception. A policy statement distributed from the national office describes four types of parent participation which are considered essential: participation in the process of making decisions about the nature and operation of the program; participation in the classroom as paid employees, volunteers or observers; activities for the parents which they have helped to develop; and working with their children in cooperation with the staff of the center.

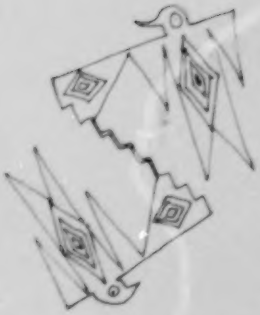
Encouragement for parents to participate in programs which affect their children has taken various forms within this policy statement, depending upon the local Head Start program, personnel and parents as they explore effective partnerships. Careful planning and sustained effort of these significant adults to children has resulted in the parents developing leadership roles involved in every aspect of the program. Parents have organized Policy Councils, participated in fund-raising projects, worked on re-funding proposals and budgets, provided input to classroom curriculum, recruited and selected children to be enrolled, served as volunteer teachers and paid substitutes, attended staff training sessions, screened applicants and hired staff, held parent workshops, followed their children into the local school system and made decisions about many aspects of the operation of the program.

Special training programs have been developed to increase the capacity of the parents to analyze their own needs, to present workshops themselves and to evaluate their progress toward their goals. The ultimate purpose of such Parent Trainer programs is to bring out among the parents explicit awareness of their strengths and to offer ways of converting those strengths into constructive action, through a problem-solving approach.

The brevity of this summary should not be construed as indicative of the importance attached to parent participation activities. To do justice to the subject is beyond the scope of this paper. It should point out the commitment of Head Start to children *with their* families. A milestone has been reached in the formation of an incorporated parent group being considered as the grantee for the training and technical assistance grant for the Tribal Head Start programs in the three states funded by the Indian and Migrant Programs Division. Support of this effort has been documented by the Head Start Directors and the Indian Tribal Councils.

EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION: IMPLEMENTATION

The early years of Head Start on the reservations were devoted to socialization and enrichment for the children who would be starting school the following fall. The Head Start classrooms in the Indian communities looked very much like nursery schools everywhere. Emphasis on health, nutrition and social services affecting the children provided noticeable differences. In an area unfamiliar with group experiences for young children, the establishment and maintenance of such centers was truly an accomplishment. Obtaining a suitable facility, providing transportation in isolated communities, distribution of supplies, organizational procedures, hiring and training staff and compliance with federal regulations were very real challenges to meet. Tribal groups were operating an educational system, even if it is taking time to perceive it as such.



There gradually emerged, here and there, a suspicion that the children, while benefiting from the comprehensive services which improved their social and physical development, were outgrowing the materials and activities in the centers. The teaching personnel and the parents began to wonder about extending and expanding their expectations of the children.

Concentration on the nursery school approach of play as the major activity of the children at this age had been fostered to counteract the initial local concept that Head Start should present first grade preparation as the content of the program. Professional background of teachers and directors was in elementary education. Very few had any training in early learning. They tended to purchase workbooks and reproduce copies in the tradition of school readiness programs. Schools felt that Head Start ought to see that the children learned certain behaviors that would make the school course of study more productive, although "real teaching and learning" supposedly took place only in the school system. On the other hand, some of the songs, finger plays and stories learned by the Head Start children were resented by the first grade teacher since those activities were considered to be her territorial repertoire. Goals were rather vague in such a context, implementation haphazard, and evaluation lacking.

Training programs — a strong component of Head Start from the beginning — provided resources to local grantees which attempted to develop a more cohesive approach to early childhood. The appearance of differentiated early education programs provided approaches and curricula components emphasizing a variety of philosophies, learning theories and practices. Support for such programs came from federal and private funds. Some had been in existence before Head Start, and actually were prototypes of early childhood programs; others came into being because of the increased activity in the field of early childhood.

Collaboration with one such program in the Dakotas came about because of the continual search of a better way to function with young children desired by local grantees. Specific activities and techniques were developed with children and training was provided to home visitors who worked directly with mothers as the most significant person to pre-school children. Contact with the Demonstration and Research Center for Early Education in the John F. Kennedy Center and George Peabody College in Nashville, Tennessee gave impetus to the Dakota programs in 1969 to expand beyond the physical and social development of the children. An eclectic approach included curriculum, staff development, classroom management, parent participation and evaluation. Environmentally and culturally appropriate materials were developed for use in the classroom to facilitate the growth of the children, intellectually as well as physically and socially.

During that year emphasis was placed on training local staff members as a team of trainers who would disseminate the principles of planning, implementation and evaluation of program aspects based on specific objectives to meet the needs of individual children. Subsequent direction taken by the Dakota and Nebraska Indian Head Start programs has tended toward a more systematic approach to early childhood education. Such a movement has not been easy and, at times, has been erratic because of local political situations.

Programs designed to create change can become institutionalized and resistant to change. Other issues emerge which make changing even more threatening to the participants. A crucial element appears to be whether the staff members feel the need for change themselves, and what kind of reinforcement is received from administrators, co-workers, parents and the local community when changes are attempted.

Increased exposure to alternatives found in early childhood education has encouraged local Head Start programs on the reservations to design their own options, as conceptualized by the local staff and parents. It has become apparent that a standard curriculum or the same kind of approach for the Dakota and Nebraska programs was not the answer. Just as each reservation is different, so each community within that reservation is different. Parents and staff have become motivated to look closely at the children, to plan for meeting their needs, and to utilize both local and outside resources to create the kind of environment which provides comprehensive services contributing to the total development of children in that community. An unobtrusive measure of success is the network developing among local grantees to share with each other certain components individually designed, both successful and not-so-successful ones. It seems that the process is more important than the product, which is more transferable, of course. Both staff and parents from one reservation have been used as resources on other reservations, increasing the capability of individuals through teaching as well as learning.

Most of the Head Start programs have become more definitive in the educational experiences offered to the children so that the purpose of such experiences is more clearly articulated. It is not so much a matter of choosing which part of a child is to be nurtured, in spite of the debate concerning intellect versus emotions and cognition versus affect. Children do not come in separate little packages. Cognition and a affect, thinking and feeling belong together and only when both are examined in terms understood by both staff and parents can a definition of success be made that tells what ought to be done in home and classroom. Possible alternatives from which to choose do not have to be precisely replicated but are modified and adapted with original innovations integrated into the daily and long-range planning.

Reservation programs have had to work out the process of implementation of programmatic aspects which will enable the child to develop physically, socially and intellectually. Staff and parents are examining *many* learning theories, early childhood curricula; looking at kindergarten and first grade programs; increasing their knowledge of child growth and development; experimenting with the cultural and language elements to include in the classroom. Perception varies, but formulation is found which indicates their concern with the balancing of experiences which insure happy, emotionally adjusted, intelligent, coping children. Local participants are moving toward the utilization of all possible resources, including themselves as they face the stress of determination of *what* and *how* they want their children to learn.

The reservation programs attempt to continually upgrade the performance of the staff in meeting the objectives of mental, physical and social growth for the children. Members of the staff are becoming more capable in refining the skills and attitudes needed by the children to be competent in their world. Classroom personnel are careful to plan experiences that are within the ability of the child so that he has frequent opportunities to succeed, yet is challenged and motivated to "stretch" his faculties and is assisted toward a positive self-concept, feeling that he is a "can-do" person. The route taken to do this is flexible, according to what the staff and parents determine most suitable, most helpful to the children in processing information and making sense out of their environment. Materials and equipment utilized in the classrooms do not always remain the same but are chosen with a specific purpose in mind. There are commercial early learning materials and teacher-made materials. The latter are made from common, everyday items, familiar to the children in their own environment at home and in their community. The space arrangement and the daily scheduling are chosen by the same criterion, for a specific purpose. Family-style meals are planned to introduce new foods, to serve familiar foods and to serve culturally appropriate meals with the adults eating with the children, encouraging conversation and a pleasant atmosphere.

Excursions into the community and longer field trips are involved in the same careful planning, to extend the experiences of the children, with follow-up in the classroom of language experiences and expression through other media (blocks, dramatic play, painting, music, and the like).

Materials, activities, language appropriate to the particular local culture and environment are in the process of being integrated into the daily schedule of the early learning center, when chosen by the parents. As the staff, community and parents become more aware of the significance of such an approach, instances of innovation increase.

College courses taken by the classroom personnel on Indian history and culture increase the background knowledge of the total staff through the reading materials, class instruction and ensuing discussions. A curious approach is sometimes taken by the college providing coursework, whether on campus or at the local reservation site. For example, translating traditional nursery rhymes into the local language does present a problem of relevance since both rhyming and sense are lost in the translation. Such courses vary greatly in depth, appropriateness and authenticity.

Local Indian people — particularly the older ones — participate in the classroom, telling legends, playing games of their childhood, providing language, music and dancing experiences and explaining ways of living which they knew as children. Every classroom employs local community members and usually at least one of them can speak the Native language. Dancing, music and crafts are adapted to the age level of the children. All the children enjoy these activities and Indian and non-Indian families are enriched by such experiences.

Teachers and aides, assisted by other staff members and parents, are developing materials and activities from the local culture into an early education curriculum which is shared with other reservations during workshops. Resource units have been produced by some programs. Assessment tools or inventories have been developed by local staff and parents which incorporate cultural elements into performance criterion as objectives in the physical, social and intellectual development of the children.

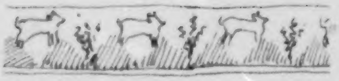
Useful references concerning culture in the curriculum are increasing in the professional literature in such publications as *Young Children, Childhood Education, The Instructor, Grade Teacher, Early Years* and others. Such references do need selective discrimination since stereotypes still persist and questionable, if not objectionable, publications are found. Some are more subtle than others. *The Journal of Indian Education* and *The Indian Historian* are sources of background materials which can assist the staff in the formulation of appropriate culture elements into early childhood education. The American Indian Historical Society has recently issued *The Weewish Tree,* "a magazine of the Native American, especially made for the youth of the country." Classroom personnel can find this especially helpful as they are working to develop cultural materials which are suitable for the young children in their program. Most of the children are now four-year-olds since kindergartens have increased in both federal and public schools.

It is not unheard of that pressure from outside groups (funding agencies, institutions of higher learning and well-meaning organizations) zealously push "culture" in the classroom, resulting in visible (although sometimes artificial) artifacts, rather than the slower process needed by the community to think through exactly what cultural elements are desired by its members to be included in the early learning program. Some parents have insisted that such teaching is the prerogative of the home, not the classroom. Further, not always is there only one tribal culture represented in the background of the children, which means going beyond a bicultural approach. Credence needs to be given to the plural diversity of Indian Tribes in authentic ways.

Early childhood in Indian communities is truly in the "process of becoming." One mother, Alberta De Shaknette, whose child was on one of the reservations in the Dakotas, expressed this process in words that speak to everyone who cares about children, how they grow and learn:

> *"I saw tomorrow look at me*
> *through little children's eyes*
> *and thought 'How carefully*
> *we'd teach* if only we were
> wise.' "

Head Start nationally is taking on a new look through the federal improvement and innovation plans currently providing direction to local grantees. Such activities are intended to consist of improving local performance to meet basic priority standards, of encouraging local programs to adopt optional variations, and of conducting experimental programs.



These directions are intended to move Project Head Start toward several important long-range goals. Thus, in the contemporary scene and beyond, the Office of Child Development in HEW will join parents and local Head Start grantees in pursuing the following goals for strengthening Head Start services to children:

First, in each community a new "Child and Family Resource Program" should be established which will pull together the full range of successful program models such as the traditional Head Start, Home Start, Health Start, Parent and Child Centers, and other programs to insure continuity between Head Start and the school.

Second, individualized care will be provided for Head Start children through strengthening local needs assessment procedures and expanding the range of local program options for responding to individual needs.

Third, parental involvement will be enhanced in the care and development of their own children. Head Start experience and research confirm that parents and the family are the key determinants in a child's growth and development. Accordingly, we will work toward increased parental involvement.

Fourth, communities will be enabled to serve even more children by assisting communities to make more efficient and wiser use of their limited Head Start resources.

Lastly, Head Start capacity will be strengthened to mobilize the resources of other public and private agencies on behalf of their clientele by serving both as an advocate and as a provider of services for agencies interested in financing or purchasing child care services.

Head Start programs in the Indian communities in Nebraska, North Dakota and South Dakota have geared up all their resources and energy to join in the improvement and innovation plans. The results will be seen in the coming years when the children themselves return to the centers, and the process of becoming continues to be based on local planning, implementation and evaluation.

Henrietta Whiteman is known to the educational community as teacher, writer, speaker, evaluator, and administrator. She has served on the Board of Directors of the National Indian Education Association, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and the Advisory Board of Directors of the Planning Resources in Minority Education for the Western Interstate Commission on Higher Education, as well as numerous evaluation teams and panel presentations. She is presently teaching as Associate Professor and Director of Native American Studies at the University of Montana in Missoula. Affiliated with the Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes, Ms. Whiteman's Cheyenne name, translated, is "The Woman Who Comes to Offer Prayer."

NATIVE AMERICAN STUDIES, THE UNIVERSITY, & THE INDIAN STUDENT

Henrietta V. Whiteman

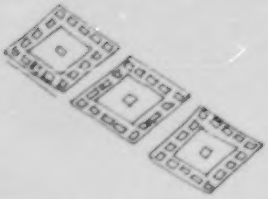
Contrary to popular belief, education — the transmission and acquisition of knowledge and skills — did not come to the North American continent on the *Nina*, *Pinta* and *Santa Maria*. Education is as native to this continent as its Native people. We Native Americans have educated our youth through a rich oral tradition, which was — and is yet today — transmitted by the elder of the tribe.

Via the oral tradition, we Cheyenne know that our world was created by Maheo, the All Spirit. We know that He made water, light, sky, air and the water people. We know that with the assistance of a water person, the coot, He made earth, and from a rib bone taken from His right side and laid on the bosom of Mother Earth, Maheo made man. We have our *Genesis* as the non-Indian has his, however ours is not recorded in the Judeo-Christian *Bible*.

We have our unique religious beliefs as we have our unique philosophical concepts. We account for the constellations in the universe as we have our own accounts of history. We have a culture — language, values, beliefs, foods, costuming, and social patterns — and we have a means of transmitting that culture from one generation to the next. Adulthood was not attained by being ignorant in the ways of life.

Today, late in the twentieth century, education in the formal and academic context is different from the 40,000 year Native American educational experience prior to Anglo-European contact. Finally, after four hundred years of attempting to transform red men into white men, our unique ways of life and cultural contributions to our native country are being recognized. Native American Studies are becoming popular on many university and college campuses in the United States.

The development of Native American Studies programs comes at an opportune time in the history of the Native American. It comes at a time of Native American self-awareness. Native American Studies is self-awareness and an exercise in



the survival mechanism of self-determination. Yet self-awareness and self-determination provide Native American educators with a challenge: for certain areas of concern built into the education of Native Americans have been allowed to perpetuate themselves virtually unchecked.

One area of concern for Native American educators is high attrition rates. There is a high dropout or withdrawal rate of Native American students at the university level. The primary reason appears to be financial rather than academic or personal and with prospects of limited federal financial assistance, the figures stand to increase. It is also recognized that some students withdraw for academic, personal, or medical reasons. However, many potential Native American college graduates return home because they lack emotional, psychological, and intellectual preparation for university life.

To assist these newly arrived students in adjusting to university life, Native American Studies is given a mandate to design special programs to ease the transition. Such programs could be: (1) A Native American Student Orientation Program; (2) Workshops on notetaking, use of the library, and research paper writing; (3) Counseling Services on academic, financial and personal matters; (4) Tutorial Programs; and (5) Social Activities involving Native American Studies faculty and staff, the Native American student body or club if one is formed, and the university faculty as a whole. In providing these services, Native American Studies would assist its students in making the transition to university life, thereby increasing the possibility of retaining more students who do make it to the campus.

Having Native American Studies on the university campus provides Native American students with an academic setting consistent with their backgrounds.

However, it is equally important to have a majority of faculty and staff in the program of the same ethnic origin as the students. This offsets the traumatic shock of Indian students suddenly encountering and being forced to associate with large numbers of non-Indian students and faculty.

Once a program begins to combat attrition rates and graduation figures increase, a secondary problem emerges: too few Native American college graduates return to their home environment or reservation, or find their way into Indian-oriented organizations. The reason for this displacement is subtle and oftentimes covert. It reflects feelings of alienation on the part of the less educated Native American to one who has acquired, in his estimation, a non-Indian orientation and education. Conversely, the educated Native American often exhibits feelings of alienation because of a lack of contact with an Indian environment while in college. In this regard, one must acknowledge that it has been the objective of the university to prepare students with necessary knowledge and skills for employment in a non-Indian world. Unfortunately, this practice directs our students away from their origins as Native Americans.

The traditional upbringing of the Native American student in a reservation setting or heavily populated Indian community, is one in which respect for the elder is stressed. Traditionally, the leaders of the tribal council are the elder members. The elders, irrespective of their educational background, are viewed as more qualified to assume leadership roles, and oftentimes occupy positions within the tribal office or in the limited job opportunities available on the reservation. The educated Native American is sometimes viewed as a threat to the leadership role of the elder, established leader.

This is a two-pronged dilemma, creating a sense of estrangement and a reservation "brain drain." Many times the educated Native American may mistake respect for alienation from his tribal members. This may well be true in a majority of instances, as it appears to be the prevalent attitude of the elders to encourage education among the young. Also there is growing pride among the Indian tribes in graduating more Native Americans from college. Although lacking in experience, these younger educated Native Americans are equipped to assume leadership roles within the community. They have been certified in professions with the knowledge and skills of professionals. Further, with the advent of Native American Studies on many university campuses throughout the nation, they generally have a background in Native American culture, history, and contemporary affairs. They have much to offer the Indian community. However, it is important that we do not discount the fact that they, too, can learn much from Indian community members about Native American life not incorporated into textbooks.

The career of a Native American working with other Native Americans is sometimes difficult until he has proven himself. It is sometimes a shock for the educated Native American to return to the Indian community or organization after four years with predominantly non-Indians on a college campus. Upon returning to his people, the educated Native American is expected to function as a role model to the younger generation. This is very necessary and has a positive influence. Conversely, however, he is oftentimes expected to be superhuman rather than just a fellow tribesman. This places additional pressures upon his readjustment to Indian community life.

To further complicate the matter of returning, employment opportunities are more readily available in the urban area. Consequently, it is more natural for the educated Native American to find employment in an urban situation.

Unfortunately, there are not enough Indian-oriented employment opportunities in the urban setting for every educated Native America, and too few on the reservation to attract students. Thus, the educated Native American is often lost to us by going to work in private industries or governmental agencies and organizations. With new federal legislation and the implementation of Affirmative Action Plans encouraging employment of minorities and expanding equal opportunities, qualified Native Americans are actively recruited to work in such institutions.

Once aware of this situation, we as Native Americans can work toward dissolving possible alienation between students and the Indian community or reservation. We must develop constant student contact between the academic community and the Native American community. This is one of the challenges to Native American Studies. Although this situation has not been of our making, we will counter it in time.

Attitudes of this type have been perpetuated by the prevalent educational system. Too often in the past, the educated Native American has been subjected solely to middle-class, white-oriented education. He has had predominantly non-Indian teachers, unless he is among the fortunate one percent of our Native American population that has had an Indian teacher. Until recently, that college graduate has had no coursework in Native American Studies. Furthermore, the theory that students learn in classwork was not equated with practice, and was inapplicable in the Indian community. In short, without Native American Studies, the general college curriculum failed — and still fails — to provide the Native American student with the necessary knowledge and skills to work with his people in the Indian community.

Thus, it must be agreed that only through Native American self-determination will this academic picture be positively changed. In Native American Studies lies the mechanism for effecting change in the Native American experience of the future. The question confronting us is: *"How can we effect change and what can we as Native Americans and educators do?"* The answer is simple. It lies in the development and implementation of academically excellent and meaningful Native American Studies Programs. It lies in the concept of Native American self-determination. It lies in our sense of self-awareness.

Native American Studies is a relatively new concept of formal education, which makes it important that those of us involved in these studies proceed with utmost discretion. The courses themselves must be carefully decided upon and designed to be academically excellent insofar as content, reading materials, and guest lecturers are concerned. By "academically excellent" I do not mean that one utilize only persons having the necessary academic credentials. What I mean to convey is that there be a selection of the most knowledgeable Indian community members to balance the content of the course with their experience, knowledge, unique perspectives and insights.

To illustrate, in one of my classes at the University of Montana in Missoula, we philosophized over the old ways, and the almost certain impossibility of returning to the old way of life in the midst of a concrete human jungle. A few days later, John Woodenlegs, a Northern Cheyenne elder, came to lecture the class and he was asked the same question we had debated for hours. Within seconds, he told us how we could retain the old ways in what might be termed the "Indian Ten Commandments." He cataloged a way of life ranging from being close to the Great Spirit, to respecting others, to being independent. This is how he felt that we as Native Americans could retain the old ways. This type of resource person abounds in the Native American community. It is this type of person who we in Native American Studies must utilize.

Admittedly, there is some reluctance on the part of conservative and financially strapped university administrators to provide funds for employing this calibre of person. Accompanying this is a reluctance to make the necessary commitment to develop more than token programs in Native American studies. While some programs remain little more than token, there are universities that have made a serious commitment to the development of Native American Studies. Generally speaking, however, expansion of programs has been extremely slow. Yet this slowness could be considered advantageous as it provides us with ample time for deliberating direction which allows for its more steady growth. One thought we should all bear in mind is that the matter of developing Native American Studies Programs need not be an overnight phenomenon. One must first break down the barriers to change. Once that is accomplished, we can prove our seriousness of commitment, and finally, proceed in further developing programs.

One can only prescribe possible remedies for avoiding ills in the development of Native American Studies. To begin, the formulation of objectives for any program is a serious consideration. The objectives must of necessity be determined by the particular needs of a specific group of Indian students and by the needs of *the Indian community*. These needs vary from region to region; consequently, the objectives will vary from program to program.

The first consideration should be objectives for meeting the needs of the Native American student. Too often, a Native American student reaches a university campus knowing absolutely no one. He is immediately thrust into a non-Indian atmosphere of unknowns. He is expected to register in courses and work out a class schedule. But too many times he does not know what to do, where to go, or who to see. This necessitates special orientation programs sponsored by Native American Studies, or if available, in conjunction with special counseling units. It is important that the new student become acquainted with other Native American students on campus. As Native Americans and as educators it is our responsibility to let the new student know that he is not alone and that people care. In short, it must be an objective of Native American Studies to provide strong Indian identity reinforcement at the university level.

Perhaps by working with the admissions office, financial aids office and counseling units, one can secure information on Native American students accepted into college. Native American Studies should then send out congratulatory letters to the student on acceptance into the university prior to his arrival on campus. Accompanying the congratulatory letter could be an information sheet on services, facilities, and courses available to him, as well as the names of individuals available to assist him in enrolling and answering possible questions.

In addition, the Native American student needs to be aware of the kinds of social activities available to him. Members of the Indian Club, if there is one on campus, need to give some type of special attention to incoming freshman and new students. One of the activities of the Kyi-yo Indian Club officers at the University of Montana, which might serve as a precedent, is making personal visits to all Indian students on campus. During these visits the officers welcome back old students and get acquainted with new ones, apprising them of meeting times and club activities. They inform the new student of the special lounge facilities in the Indian Studies Building, which is complete with study area, coffeepot, pop vending machine, and Native American togetherness. In short, the Indian Club makes the student aware that there is some place available where he might expect to meet other Indian students and feel welcome on campus.

The Native American also needs to know of opportunities available to him in the study of his own culture. If possible, the student should be made aware of academic courses in Native American Studies prior to arrival on campus so he can arrange his class schedule to best advantage.

Native American Studies courses should have well defined objectives and promote positive Native American self-concepts. For once, we as Native American educators have the opportunity and responsibility to promote the development of positive self-concepts among our students. In Native American Studies we are afforded the opportunity to completely depart from the negative self-image syndrome and from the attitude of failure and inferiority.

Another objective is to present the total picture. Let us take, for example, mental health problems such as suicide, drug abuse or alcoholism. It is mandatory that the instructor look at the reasons behind high mental health statistics. However, he must also offer or solicit solutions to such situations. This problem-solving approach is requisite. We must never lose sight of the fact that our youth have vision. Encourage the use of vision and tincture it with practicality and application. You will never cease to be gratified that your old age is in excellent hands, and that you are molding the Native American warrior of tomorrow.

It is the responsibility of Native American Studies to stimulate the intellectual activity of the Native American student by providing a strong background in Native American culture, history, and contemporary affairs. It is, indeed, a worthy objective of any program to develop the total RED man, equipped by training in Native American Studies, to assume the role upon graduation of warrior-scholar-community activist.

Based upon our own Native American culture, it is, indeed, honorable to be a warrior and worthy to seek warrior status. The warrior prepares by equipping himself with special strategic skills to assume the fight for survival in a non-Indian dominated world. In addition, the warrior, as a total person, should be a scholar — a knowledgeable person with a critical intellect — trained in Native American Studies and traditional disciplines. The total man must also be a community activist, able to go into an Indian organization to effect positive change for his people with energy and decision. Thus the total RED man combines the qualities of warrior, scholar, and community activist in becoming the Native American of tomorrow.

Obviously, this total person is the product of the entire university system. However, it is the specific responsibility of Native American Studies to see that such students are the product of courses offered within the program. This brings us to the matter of curriculum, which because of our heterogeneity, makes curriculum development a complex process.

We all recognize that Native American Studies is but a reflection of the Native American experience.

In our quest for relevant education, then, it is mandatory that Native American Studies reflect in its curriculum a microcosm of the total experiences of the Native peoples of this continent. There must continue to be recognition of tribal diversity concomitant with recognition of unique lifestyles. Different tribes have distinct languages, differing world-views as well as their own unique experiences and history. This alone complicates the task of developing comprehensive, yet specialized curriculum for Native American Studies.

Viewing the complexity of curriculum development, the cardinal rule is Indian involvement. This is a natural manifestation of the concept of self-determination, and if one looks closely at the situation, the development of Native American Studies is nothing more than an exercise in self-determination. It stands to reason that only we can translate our sensitivities into experiences as members of the academic community and as members of the greater non-Indian society. In this sense, perhaps, a course entitled "The Native American Experience" could serve as an introductory survey to the Program.

It is incumbent upon each of us as educators to incorporate regional relevance into our respective programs. This can best be achieved by utilizing Native American community members within proximity to the campus in conjunction with regional history course work. In California, there should be a history course on California Indians. In the Southwest, there could be a Southwest history course or, because the largest Native American tribe is located there, a course on Navajo tribal history. In Oklahoma one would have to be selective as to which of the sixty-eight tribes were studied. However, there could be Southern Plains history or history of the Five Civilized Tribes. In Montana we offer a Reservation Indian course composed of studying all seven reservations in the state.

History courses are but one example of the type courses one can develop in a particular region. It could well be any other area of study, like literature or art. History as an example, however, has a certain validity. Through a knowledge of history one can arrive at sounder solutions for a better Native American tomorrow — socially, economically, politically, and educationally. Insights can be developed as to where we have been and what has happened. This provides perspectives for building a firmer foundation from which we can formulate objectives for the future.

An innovation which must be incorporated into the curriculum and translated into an objective is that of designing community-oriented courses. In this way, we in Native American Studies can counter the immediate concern of maintaining stronger and continual ties with the Native American community through course requirements. This can be accomplished through jointly sponsored projects with Native American organizations in heavily populated and tribally diverse urban areas, and with internship programs in rural or reservation areas. Also there can be work-related educational experiences such as summer work programs, or independent study projects with Indian-oriented programs, such as tribal councils, Community Action Programs, Indian centers, or tribal research agencies. Wherever we are, Native American Studies must accelerate contact and communication between academia and the Native American community.

Today, tribally designed and operated research agencies are beginning to appear in Native American communities. Research courses working in conjunction with such organizations can provide our students with valuable and practical research experience. One such example is the tribal research association on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, under the direction of Mr. Joseph Little Coyote. Incorporated as the Northern Cheyenne Research and Human Development Association, it serves as a model tribal research association. Through practical research with such organizations, the student not only is learning, but also has a chance to serve his people by preserving the culture and history of a tribe.

Without lamenting, we must recognize that we Native American researchers are arriving late on the heels of predominantly non-Indian historians and anthropologists who have already subjected our people to feelings of exploitation and over-exposure to study. Oftentimes we become the recipients of the hostility and skepticism promulgated by our predecessors. It becomes necessary, then, to work through an appropriate organization. If there is no organization, then contacts must be made with and approval obtained from the Tribal Council.

In short, we must provide the Native American student with an orientation consistent with his own background, and we must also provide him with the opportunity of equating theory and practice by working with the Indian community or an Indian organization. He must be allowed to develop alternatives in seeking solutions to areas of daily concern to the Native American in his home environment. Thus, we are promoting Indian orientation by maintaining contacts between the Indian community and academia, and simultaneously combating feelings of alienation of the educated Native American from the Native American community.

Additional courses in a well-rounded Native American Studies curriculum would include such areas as music, art, costumes, literature and languages, philosophy, religion, social concerns and the contemporary situation. Such courses must be academically sound, responsive to and reflective of the needs of the particular students and community.

Naturally, if Native American Studies is truly meaningful, the direction, philosophy and the curriculum emphasis of the program will vary from region to region. We know the needs of Native Americans in off-reservation areas will differ from the needs of those on reservations. We know that the needs of one tribal group will differ from those of another. The Blackfeet differ from the Salish or Kootenai; just as the Navajo from the Apache, the Hoopa from the Pomo, and the Seneca from the Tuscarora.

In the early development of Native American Studies programs, a question generally arises as to the matter of location within the academic structure of the university. One must consider where the program can be located to provide the most benefit to its students and where it can function with the greatest degree of flexibility and latitude. There are also financial considerations that often dictate and define the boundaries within which a program can operate. Ideally, one can be an autonomous unit offering its own major. This has sometimes been misconstrued by academic administrators as a way of developing academic ghettos which they believe provide little or no exchange between Native American Studies and other traditional disciplines on campus. If staffing problems are such that one cannot have a complete faculty to fulfill all requirements for a major, then one might encourage employment of Native American educators in traditional disciplines. If there are no funds for expansion of faculty, then there is no alternative but to seek joint appointments of faculty in Native American Studies and other departments.

It is, however, my personal opinion that this is a less desirous route, because criteria for employment in a traditional university or college discipline are usually very demanding. This also leaves us with little or no authority to select our own faculty member. If academic credentials become the primary basis for employment, we run the risk of having Indian Studies taught by non-Indians from the usual non-Indian perspective.

It remains a fact that little serious consideration is accorded the Native American who possesses a wealth of knowledge on Native Americana, but does not have the

educational background and experience to warrant employment at the university or college level. This type of academic snobbery must not become the rule in Native American Studies.

To illustrate, in the matter of Native American languages, it is my firm belief that only the Native American is qualified to teach, even without a degree. If any Native American Studies Program is ever going to develop an outstanding Native language department, I foresee the monumental problem of "selling" university administrations on the academic merit of employing Native Americans with expertise rather than degrees. Utilizing individuals who have spent their lifetime using the language is preferable to using those superficially trained in Native language study. This is an example of implementing the theory of self-determination in a pragmatic fashion: while providing our students with accuracy in the study of Native American languages we are assuring the preservation of the languages for generations of Native Americans yet to come.

Identifying career opportunities for the educated Native American is also a concern of any program, particularly if the program offers its own major. Too often one hears: "Now that you have graduated with a degree in Native American Studies, where are you going to find employment?" In answering this question, we would list current employment and utilize work-related educational experiences, internship programs, summer work programs, and independent study projects. We must also work to expand the placement of internees in situations other than research agencies. Such sponsors could include Indian-controlled schools, schools on reservations, schools with a high enrollment of Indian students, state Indian education components, State Indian Commissions, Tribal Councils, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Public Health Service. With employment in such agencies, the educated Native American is in a new position to effect meaningful change in public programs that deal directly with his people.

It has been my position to discuss Native American Studies from the perspective of the Native American student, showing how the program can be developed around his needs. We in Native American Studies must not allow our students to leave college prematurely because of a lack of emotional, psychological, and intellectual preparation. When the Native American student does return home, he must be prepared to assume a vital function, applying his education to effect meaningful change in programs that exert influence over all Native Americans.

After 400 years of experience as the oppressed native peoples of our country, it is time we implement the concept of self-determination as Native Americans and assert control over our lives. By controlling the education of our young through Native American Studies, we are molding the Native American of tomorrow, with attributes of warrior, scholar, and community activist. But this total RED man, the finished product, can only result through us as Native American educators taking the initiative to incorporate time-tried perspectives into the new academic sphere of Native American Studies.

Patricia Locke serves the national Native American community in two administrative positions: as President of the National Indian Education Association and as Director for Planning Resources in Minority of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education. Her training as a Master of Public Administration has given her the opportunity to study Indian Policy and Decision Making from an administrator's viewpoint. Her writings on these subjects are numerous and include "Urban Indian Communities," an article soon to be published in *The Handbook of American Indians* by the Smithsonian Institute. She is affiliated with the White Earth Chippewa (Mississippi Band) and the Standing Rock Sioux-Hunkpapa Tribe.

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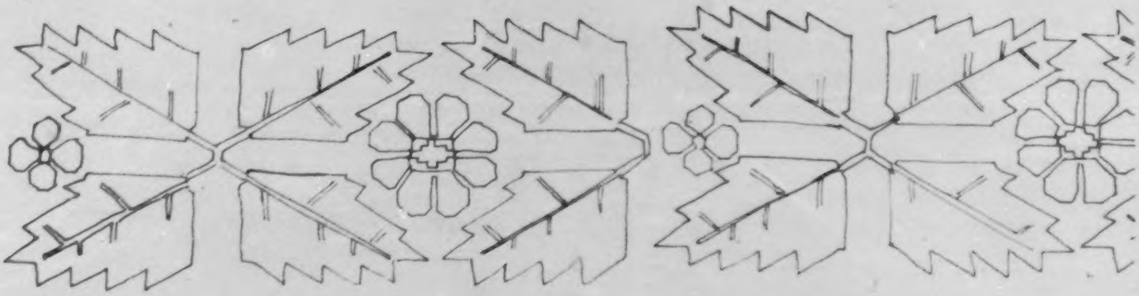


AN IDEAL SCHOOL SYSTEM FOR AMERICAN INDIANS — A THEORETICAL CONSTRUCT

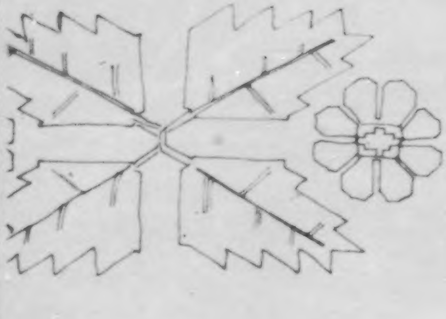
Patricia Locke

Ideally, schools are shaped by community structures and community people, for the school is a social instrument. In the United States, education has been the agent in the progression of technological achievement and has created demands which serve to keep the technology advancing.

School teaches and reinforces what is "good" in the American value system. School teaches us *individualism*: that one must achieve for himself, realize his own potential and reach the pinnacle by Horatio Alger tactics. Anglo-American history gives us many role models: military leaders, Presidents and captains of industry. School teaches us *mercantilism*. The individual must want to buy and sell things that society deems good and necessary, with little consideration for diminishing natural resources or concern for the have-nots.

School teaches *acquisitiveness*. We learn that we must work until retirement at age 65 in order to amass possessions. When these wear out we must acquire replacements. These things should be as good as or better than our neighbors' things. We are taught to admire things that have desirable brand names. The more they cost, the better. The individuals who have completely internalized the value of acquisitiveness usually have vast holdings of fenced real estate, protected from those who have not learned the lesson as well.

By-products of this acquired value system are the death communities for old people such as Sun City, the inner city ghettoes and barrios, the Trans-Alaska pipeline, orphanages, strip-mining, and air pollution in Los Angeles that is the equivalent of smoking two packs of cigarettes a day. Such is the stuff of the "American Dream."



The hierarchy of the American school system which propounds these values has been an effective propellant for the American citizen progressing up the social and economic ladder.

American Indian efforts to ignore or modify the formalized education experience are nearly futile. With the exception of Asian-Americans, Native Americans are the only people that seem not to have wholly internalized the Judeo-

Christian value system. This essay will propose some hypothetical educational models for American Indians that would utilize education as a social instrument to reinforce specific tribal value systems. These models are not to be misconstrued as "education for the disadvantaged and culturally deprived." Such terms in common usage among American educators expose racist value judgments and are insulting.

We are forced to adapt to the educational systems of the immigrant culture only because they are so numerous, insistent and all-pervasive. It would be ideal if Indian people could live, learn and die in the contexts of our cultures as they would have evolved, but we cannot. We have been forced to compromise educationally, to seem to adapt to some of the dominant society's mores in our educational patterns, because the prevailing educational hierarchy is so sure of its infallibility. And they impose laws and customs to make us conform.

We suffer in the name of education from their nursery schools, Head Start programs, secular and religious boarding schools, public day schools with formal hours and foreign curricula, non-Indian foster parent programs, vocational schools and other foreign post-secondary systems. Finally, there is the absurdity of "Golden Years" programs where our elders learn to plan for their retirement and funerals.

A listing of simple causes and effects of this educational system would illustrate the damage being done to tribal people:

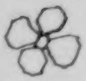
Nursery schools include deprivation of family nurturing and interruption of the organic learning process. Head Start programs increase deprivation of the extended family influence, freeing the mother to enter the work force and causing marital disfunction. Secular boarding schools cause total deprivation of the family nurturing process; alienation from tribal language and culture occur. The same is true of religious boarding schools with the addition that the child is indoctrinated with alien myths and legends and becomes increasingly mutant as concepts of sin, hell and paganism are reinforced.

Non-Indian foster parents' boarding programs means the child loses his family and tribal contacts. Parents are bereaved as the child assumes a non-Indian identity and is lost as a contributing tribal member. At vocational schools the student accepts the Christian work ethic: he learns individualism, mercantilism, and acquisitiveness. Post-secondary school systems create continued alienation from the tribal environment. They impose useless curricula that impede the students' contribution to tribal support systems. Probable assimilation into the dominant society occurs if the student survives foreign counseling services. Finally gradual assumption of alien rhetoric and life styles takes place. "Golden

Years" Programs involve the acceptance of the concept of "the generation gap." Elders are lost as teachers; apathy, senility, and death occur in isolation.

Education for American Indian tribal people must be related to the tribes' cosmologies, and integrated into the past and future of the particular tribe. A traditional Indian does not think of a career for self-fulfillment. He thinks of personal attainment only to serve tribal goals. Career satisfaction is often only a by-product of the degree of effectiveness reached in serving short and long range tribal goals.

The child normally begins learning at birth in an organic way. It is important to emphasize this intrinsic and non-formal learning procedure because it is a life-long process. The individual's uncles, aunts, grandparents and the respected elders of the tribe are the nurturers and teachers along with the parents. The function of tribal members as teachers, administrators, counselors, policy-makers and curriculum developers of the young Indian should be an integral part of the entire process of education.



It is artificial and arbitrary to segment the learning process into grades, calendars, and age levels. For the sake of reader familiarity with these imposed forms, and because of the enforced conformity previously mentioned, this hypothetical construct of Indian educational programs will incorporate some segmented scholastic structures. These semantics will serve to sugar-coat an alternative educational mode that would otherwise arouse fears and threaten prejudices.

PRE-SCHOOL, HEAD START AND KINDERGARTEN

Pre-school, Head Start and kindergarten programs should be eliminated from the ideal American Indian educational system. The alternative is to allow the child to learn at home in his early years in a natural and organic way from his immediate and extended family. The baby or child will learn through non-verbal communication skills and in his own tribal language without the conflicting dualism in values and concepts caused by the usual imposition of English. An example is the Colville tribal baby, trained to perceive with all of the senses while he is learning to speak. This makes him sensitive to, and in symbiosis with, the world around him. For example, his grandfather says the word *wighst* and slaps his hand on a solid surface. The child, playing on the ground with his toys, immediately stops his activity and becomes a sensory being. He tries to feel through his body and his feet the vibrations of the stream flowing over rocks, the impact on the earth made by two-legged and four-legged beings as they move, and the force of a tree in its impact with the earth. He simultaneously listens to all natural sounds: an insect's wings, the meadowlark's cry, and leaves rustled by the winds. He smells and distinguishes all of the subtle and pungent aromas of man, animal and earth. He permeates with his eyes all movement, color, and texture; noting activity, and non-activity in his peripheral vision. The command *wighst* is given several times a day to reinforce this learning.

His grandfather takes him into the woods after he learns to walk. There the child learns to sharpen and broaden his sensory perceptions. He observes the rhythms and cycles of nature. He becomes prepared for all of his life to relate to and be in balance with the four-leggeds, the winged creatures, the finned ones and the rooted ones. So, the grandfather conditions and "educates" his grandson. Every gesture and word teaches the child that he has a place in the universe.

We concede that this natural learning process is not available to all Indian children. We have suffered a high degree of family disruption and disintegration. It is a reality that many parents are separated and must work to support their children. They must leave their children in day care and Head Start programs. But we are postulating an ideal Indian educational program which would make a person whole, mentally healthy, and prepare him to be a contributing member of the tribe. Under optimum conditions, a mother could stay with her children until they had reached puberty, and fathers would be able to provide for their families at home on the reservation, instead of being coerced into bringing them to inner city ghettoes and barrios.

We will admit that day care, nursery school and Head Start programs are necessary in the cities for the one-half of the national Indian population that must live there. The economic reality is that our reservations could not now support an additional one-half million people. But off-reservation pre-school programs for Indian children must be administered by Indian people. Experiences should simulate the tribal extended family organic teaching modes. Surrogate aunts, uncles and grandparents should be brought into the learning environment there to inculcate specific tribal knowledge. Wearing beaded moccasins does little to transmit Indian values.

Indian languages should be taught and reinforced whenever possible. Language reinforces the traditional and evolving cultures of our people. It is the key to survival for Indian people because it reflects the philosophy and worldview of the particular tribe. Language is our window to the world. Of course, the off-reservation child will be learning English simultaneously with his tribal tongue. The dualism of values can be expected to cause conflict. But this conflict can be eased by the presence of surrogate family members as teachers.

We must say a few words here about Special Education, pre-school and elementary programs for physically and mentally handicapped children and programs for orphaned and abandoned children.

St. Michael's School on the Navajo Reservation near Window Rock, Arizona, might serve as a model of Special Education for other tribes. The program is tied in with the Career Opportunities Program at the University of Arizona which provides Navajo student teachers training for St. Michael's. The school's policy is determined by parents and grandparents. The facility is located on the reservation in proximity to the children's homes so that the children can go home to their families on weekends. The learning environment simulates hogan life. For instance, there is no indoor plumbing in the learning rooms and so the child learns to carry water. There is a female and a male hogan outside the main building where the children learn Navajo arts. The atmosphere is warm and loving, and one observes high expectations and a resultant independence exhibited by the children. Another interesting feature of the program is the cooperation of staffs. The Gallup Indian Center in Gallup, New Mexico, assist the St. Michael's staff in transporting children to and from their family homes over the weekends.

The Hope Ranch on the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana is a positive model for tribes who do not want children without families to suffer the trauma and indignity of being taken away to non-Indian orphanages and foster homes. This Assiniboine Sioux tribe has initiated a living environment which provides children with the security of family and reinforcement of Assiniboine life-ways. Indian surrogate parents, brothers and sisters act supportively of one another in a natural home setting, and the children participate normally in all social and tribal life.

Another model that we might borrow is Russian, where elders without families and orphans live together. Any Indian person who understands the value of family interdependency and mutual regard will appreciate this model in contrast to the orphanages and old folks homes of the dominant society.

A CONCEPTION OF THE IDEAL PRIMARY AND ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

The child will enter school at about seven years of age. The school will be located in the heart of the tribal community and will be designed by Indian architects. These Indian architects will consult with the respected persons of the tribe to incorporate particular cosmological concepts into the structure. These concepts, such as maleness and femaleness of structures, sacred colors, direction of entrances and spatial preferences must be an integral part of the learning environment. Much of the instruction will take place out-of-doors and in the community.

All educational policy at such a school, will be determined not only by parents but by other respected persons of the tribe. Long discussions will take place preceding consensus of who will decide policy. Sometimes non-Indians as well as college educated Indians and young people will be invited to consult.

All external monies coming to support special programs, either from the federal government or from foundations would be conduited through the Tribal Council and its Department of Education or Education Committee. Good models for this procedure now exist in the Minnesota Chippewa Tribes' Education Committee and the Navajo Nation's Department of Education. Reservation district splinter groups that disagree with over-all tribal educational policy need to have equitable representation on the Tribal Council Education Committee or Department of Education. Organizations external to the tribal government — both Indian and non-Indian — that seek to disrupt tribal cohesiveness will be required to have visas to cross reservation borders. The Red Lake Chippewa Tribe of Minnesota and the Colville Tribe of Washington have initiated such protective measures against an overabundance of tourists, academicians, Vista workers, and religious and social workers.

A CONCEPTION OF THE IDEAL ADMINISTRATION AND TEACHING FACULTY

School administrators, supportive staff, teachers and teacher's aides will be tribal members. When this is not possible, personnel may be recruited from other tribes. Non-Indian persons will sometimes be recruited, especially from the Asian community where religion and life-styles are closer to American Indian Mores. For instance, it would be preferable to have English taught by an Asian teacher, since semantic understandings and interpretations would not be so diametrically opposed to Indian cosmologies.

Dillon Platero, head of the Navajo's Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle, Arizona, emphasized the disparity between Indian and non-Indian educational systems. He speculated that of both Indian and non-Indian graduates of this country's Schools of Education who become involved in Rough Rock's teacher training program, only thirty percent are retrainable. He further stated that a minimum of two and one-half years is required in the retraining and learning process.

Another controversial statement made at a national

Indian education meeting was the effect that *no* college and university graduates should be allowed to teach Indian children. They should be used as consultants only. The obvious alternative would be to establish Indian Education Programs for Indian Teachers of Indian Children. This idea will be discussed later under the model for post-secondary education.

A vital and necessary part of the faculty would be respected persons of the tribe. They would receive remuneration commensurate with other teachers. The status of these older persons has traditionally been eminent. They are the repositories of oral literature and knowledge. They would serve a double function as guidance counselors, and would provide natural motivation by transmitting essential human knowledge for the continuance of tribal support systems.

The school board may wish to hire non-Indian custodians and janitors.

CURRICULA

There are too few curricula design projects underway in Indian country. Most of our children are being forced to learn from textbooks which reinforce non-Indian concepts and values. Under the auspices of the American Indian Historical Society, several Indian people reviewed California's required textbooks in the 1960s and found none suitable for Indian children. Indian educators and persons of knowledge need to annotate school texts and anthropologists' monographs so that our children are not mis-educated.

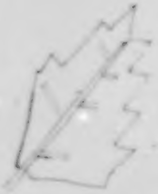
All tribal languages must be made to live through books, films and other media for the benefit of future generations of Indian children. A well designed and comprehensive effort could produce curriculum materials in forty languages in five years. College students and respected elders could work together developing a wealth of curriculum materials.

In recent years, a curriculum development project contracted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs has produced some interesting but uneven tribal materials specifically for kindergarten through the twelfth grade. These materials were developed at the direction of tribal education committees. The Cheyenne River Sioux wanted a modular unit in high school economics; the Standing Rock Sioux requested a modular unit in communication skills. The Eskimos in Nome, the Hopi, the Navajo, all had differing requests to serve particular tribal needs. Indian people were hired to elicit information, make tape recordings, train teachers and write curricula. Some of the aspects of the materials were transferable to other tribes.

Course content in the ideal Indian primary and elementary school will include tribal history, religion, arts, social studies, and philosophy. Children will attend all tribal ceremonies and will be taught the songs, dances and ritual that are intrinsic to them. Elders will teach the classic unadulterated language so that sex education, ecology and geography need not be learned as separate subjects.

All content will be related to the tribal specific cultural base during the first three years of school. The curricula offered to fourth through eighth graders will be expanded to include other tribes and the other racial entities and governmental units with which the student must later deal.

An eighth grade Yupik Eskimo student's course of study might be as follows:



- Yupik Eskimo religion and philosophy
- neighboring Inupiat Eskimo village government
- history of Protestantism
- history of Roman Catholicism
- history of Russian Orthodoxy
- social dynamics of prosetylization
- conversational Tlingit
- conversational Athabascan
- conversational English and grammar
- comparative United States history
- American Indian art
- mathematics.

This course of study may appear difficult for a fourteen-year-old. The skilled teachers, however, will present the materials in an informal atmosphere and at an appropriate level. Prior to teaching the essentials of the material, village elders and councilmen will discuss the rationale for survival that requires such study. At the beginning of the school year, a representative from the Statewide Alaska Federation of Natives and a representative from the Regional Native Corporation will address the whole student body on the implications of Native relations with the oil companies, the state of Alaska, and the United States government to provide sufficient motivation for a commitment to learning.

To transpose this process to the Nevada Paiutes, elementary school students would be addressed by a representative from the Walker River Paiute and the Statewide Nevada Intertribal Council. These representatives would explain current Indian relations with the state of Nevada, the Army Corps of Engineers, the strip-mining companies and neighboring states that wish to abrogate Paiute water rights.

All lessons in the first three grades will be taught in the tribal specific language. Foreign languages will not be formally utilized until the fourth grade. Non-Indian teachers will be hired to teach English grammar and spelling, and such relatively culture-free courses as mathematics.

It is important that the child learns dual cultures and multi-cultures from the fourth grade onward. He must learn well the behavior of people from other cultures if he is to help his people survive. He will learn the values and behavior expectations of other cultures *as skills, not as values.* He may be chosen early by his tribe to pursue a non-Indian college education or a technological education in order to help the tribe survive. If he is to become an attorney or a physician, he will have to learn the necessary academic skills. But great care should be taken so that the student does not walk a path that will cause him to fall over the brink into complete acculturation and assimilation.

SECONDARY SCHOOL

High schools will be located on the reservations. Policy will be mandated by the tribe's Education Committee, by elected representatives from the reservation districts or chapters, or by the tribe's Department of Education. All school personnel should be Indian except for individuals who teach foreign languages and white studies.

It is important that decisions be made about the individual students' direction of study for ensuing years. The Tribal Council will have determined short and long range goals — with help from consultants of the American Indian Tribes Research Institute (see below) — and will have made a human resource inventory. The tribe will know which areas of skill it is deficient in, and can pinpoint these needs to the secondary student so that he may prepare himself in these directions.

Two examples will illustrate this Indian idea of tribal member preparation to achieve for other people, in contrast to the prevailing Caucasian concept of individual competition for pecuniary objectives and personal success.

In 1971, the third American Indian Ecumenical Conference was held in Morley, Alberta. Medicine men, singers, healers and respected elders from Canada, the United States and Mexico met to pray for us, and to discuss issues that affect our survival as a people. When the subject of education was brought up, several of the wise ones made these statements: "We are going to have to plan to send some of our kids into the white world to get the white man's education so that our children can learn certain things that will help us later on. We should not send all of our children into that world because it will harm them. The people in that world hurt each other, they hurt themselves with alcohol and drugs. If we send all of our children to the white world they might learn these bad things and learn how to be selfish and greedy. Only certain tough and strong ones should go out there. We should plan ahead how to support these kids. When they come home we will give them special honor and feasts. We will give them names. Everyone has to be friendly to these kids even if they talk different when they come back home."

In 1972, the United Sioux Tribes of South Dakota made the following resolution:

> "WHEREAS, Tribal organizations are becoming increasingly involved in activities requiring specialized managerial skills; and
> "WHEREAS, Indian college students are often uncertain as to which major to pursue in order to be of future maximum service to their tribes;
> "THEREFORE, be it resolved that we, the elected Chairmen of the United Sioux Tribes recommend that increased numbers of Indian students enter the fields of Public Administration, Business Administration, Medicine, Law, and Economics so as to be better prepared to return to the service of the home tribes."

That resolution was signed by the Cheyenne River Sioux, Crow Creek Sioux, Flandreau Sioux, Lower Brule Sioux, Pine Ridge Sioux, Rosebud Sioux, Sisseton Sioux, Standing Rock Sioux, and Yankton Sioux.

METHODOLOGY

The school board will determine the school year calendar in keeping with specific tribal customs and ceremonies. Non-Indian holidays will not be observed. Classes will be open and students will not be grouped by age levels, but by aptitude and interest. Teacher discussions with parents and the student will take the place of a formal grading system. School attendance will not be mandatory. Beginning at eleven or twelve years, the student will participate in the tribe's "school on wheels." Groups of ten to twelve students will travel to nearby and selected distant reservations and off-reservation Indian communities, for "field work" in learning about other tribal people, and for the purpose of exchanging cultural programs with their peers. College students, who are members of the tribes to be visited, will "conduct" these traveling classes. Not only will the student learn about and come to appreciate the richness and diversity of the tribes, but this understanding will help him to overcome latent tribal antagonisms that still persist. The groundwork will have been laid for improved *transtribal* communications and unity. Arrangements will be made so that the college student receives a stipend and course credit for the teaching experience.

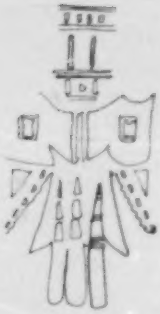
The "traveling school" mechanism will also be integral to the secondary school system. Secondary school age youth will not be required to attend all White Studies courses unless it has been mutually determined that the individual will relate to external governments in later life for the benefit of the tribe.

Dual record systems will have to be maintained at the Tribal Council's Computer Center or one of the Regional Computer Centers so that the Indian student will not be *penalized* if he must leave the reservation and transfer to a non-Indian school. A report card with grades in such acceptable courses as American history, English, geography, spelling, social studies, home economics, reading and arithmetic will be maintained and made available for the transferring student.

Sample secondary curricula in Indian Studies and White Studies might be:

Indian Studies

Tribal Government Systems
Indian Reorganization Act Tribes



Terminated Tribes
Non-Federally Recognized Tribes
Tribes of Mexico
Tribes of Central America
Tribes of South America
Tribes of Canada
Modern Indian Religions
Ancient Indian Religions
American Indian History
American Indian Pre-Law
American Indian Medicine
Minority and Ethnic-Minority Relations
Land Reform
Comparative Minority Rhetoric
Introduction to American Indian Business Administration
American Indian Arts
American Indian Law and Order
Ecology
American Indian Literature and Poetry
Indian Communications Systems
Grantsmanship
Regional Languages and Dialects

White Studies

State Governments
The U.S. Constitution
The Congress
Federal Agencies, Bureaus, and Departments, i.e.:
    Department of the Interior (Bureau of Land Management, Bureau of Indian Affairs)
    Department of Labor
    Army Corps of Engineers
    Department of Commerce
    Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Comparative Religions
Christianity, Buddhism, Taoism, Hinduism
English Literature
Spanish Conversation
Caucasian Sociology

Black Sociology
Caucasian Law and Order Systems
European History
History of the Mexican Conquest
History of the U.S. Conquest
History of the Canadian Conquest
Caucasian Psychology
Caucasian Concepts of Real Estate
European Philosophy
Caucasian Art History
Caucasian Diseases
Caucasian Communications Systems
Computer Science
Mathematics
Economics
Caucasian Nutrition

SOME AMERICAN INDIAN POST-SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL MODELS

Since American Indians perceive education as a continuing experience, post-secondary, adult and continuing education are viewed as an interrelated process. Under optimum conditions, elders and community leaders would help college students from their tribes to prepare for ultimate community service by defining tribal needs. College students would tutor and provide role models for secondary students. College and secondary students would become tutors and would assume teachers' aide roles in primary schools. Parents, family and other adults would be involved in support roles at pre-school and Head Start Programs and would be supportive in community college programs. Increased involvement would lead to increased commitment.

Perhaps the most immediate, pressing problem in the area of Indian education today is how to correct and reverse the discouraging history of failure in Indian post-secondary education. The attrition rate for Indian students during their first year of college stands at an astonishing seventy-four percent. This figure points to a complete lack of success on the part of the nation's colleges in their educational programs for American Indians. Perhaps these Indian student "push-outs" are the symbolic miner's canary of the nation's educational system. The lack of financial support, the inadequate counseling and guidance programs, and the irrelevant curricula are due in part to a long-standing policy of coercive acculturation. The goals of American higher education, to a very large degree, are out-of-tune and in conflict with the Indian's psychological and philosophical frame of reference.

THE AMERICAN INDIAN NATIONS UNIVERSITY

This University will be adjacent to a sacred tribal place such as the Black Hills in South Dakota. The buildings will be designed by American Indian architects in consultation with the tribes. The Board of Regents will be composed of the most respected Indians of the Nations. The faculty will be composed of Indian educators who have proven their commitment. Leading Indian educators from Canada, Mexico and South America will be in residence. Eminent Indian people with specialized skills but without "academic" credentials, will be asked to teach seminars and will receive remuneration comparable to other faculty members.

Tribal Councils will each select approximately two students to attend the University. There are 478 federally recognized tribes, 17 state-recognized tribes and 52 tribal entities not recognized by state or federal governments. Theoretically, 1,094 students would be eligible to attend this university. The Board of Regents would set up guidelines for entrance that would be equitable to both small and large tribes.

The federal government, in its trust responsibility to the tribes, should provide and fully support at least six national Indian universities in Alaska, the West Coast, the Southwest, the Plains, in Oklahoma and on the East Coast.

This prototype, perhaps near the Black Hills, should be only the first of the six upper division and graduate education universities which would serve the burgeoning reservation community colleges and the 547 Indian tribes.

The strategy of the American Indian Nations University will be directed toward developing students who can move into leadership roles to bring about social changes in the dominant society. The guests on this continent seem not to realize that their values and technology are leading us all to unbearable pollution, depletion of natural resources, overcrowding and extinction. Our American guests need to be helped out of their cultural disadvantage and their social and educational deprivation. They are capable of learning new ways to overcome their human alienation and lack of social experience. Their behavior can be modified.

The undergraduate courses will be determined by the Board of Regents after deliberations with the tribes. It can be assumed that curricula will evolve in complexity from the courses described for the secondary schools. The tribal people who will set priorities for the *American Indian Tribes Research Institute* will assist in the development of undergraduate curricula. They may also help to set curricular directions for the primary and secondary schools.

The American Indian Nations University will include graduate schools, institutes, centers and museums, and offer public lectures, theatre, films and art exhibits.

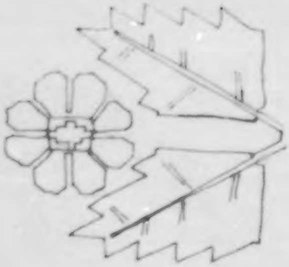
CENTERS

The Water Resources Center will coordinate water resources research. Through funds from the Office of Water Resources Research, U.S. Department of the Interior, projects will provide research assistantships for the training of graduate students.

The Center for Latin American Studies will serve the individual and cooperative research of faculty and graduate students in the social sciences, education, humanities, art, law and health sciences. The center will facilitate the exchange of personnel between the university and Latin America.

Center for the Study of Comparative Folklore and Mythology will stimulate interest in such projects as the compilation of a dictionary of White American popular beliefs, legends and superstitions.

The Center for American Minority Studies will research and interpret Chicano, Asian-American, Puerto Rican and Afro-American experiences and their relation to and effect on the tribes.



INSTITUTES

The American Indian Tribes Research Institute will relate to the following issues in American Indian survival: Federal and state legislation endangering tribal sovereignty; federal legislation endangering tribal resources including land and water rights; state, federal and foundation monies misspent on non-Indian programs and research directed at Indians; Indian alternatives to non-Indian foster homes; American Indian bio-medical research; and treaty responsibilities of the United States government. The University recognizes the value of an interdisciplinary approach, and will maintain organized research units outside the usual departmental structure. Such groups as tribal chairmen, medicine men, educators, linguists and ecologists will meet across disciplines to devise survival strategies. Computerized data will be available for scheduled and emergency seminars.

The Institute of Evolutionary and Environmental Biology will be devoted to research in those aspects of the biology of both living and fossil organisms which relate to their properties at organizational levels ranging from organ systems to ecosystems. A significant concern will be directed toward current problems in world environment.

The Western Management Science Institute will foster research and advanced education in the management sciences and operations fields. It will conduct mathematical and computer-oriented studies, including the construction of optimization models for production and inventory systems, conservation of natural resources, finance and marketing policies, immigration policies and resource allocation in organizations.

The Institute of Library Research will foster organized research for the satisfactory solution of library and information systems problems. It will integrate new methods with the University's Law and General Libraries.

MUSEUMS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

The American Indian Nations University Art Gallery
The Museum of Cultural History — American Indian
The Museum of Cultural History — Immigrant America

GRADUATE SCHOOLS

American Indian Law School
Graduate School of American Indian Education
School of Indigenous Medicine
School of Social Welfare
Graduate School of Management
Public Administration
Business Administration
School of Architecture

We must plan for the realistic future as well as for ideal projections. The following is a list of recommendations which would affect immediate Indian post-secondary educational needs.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

First, there should be at least one National Indian University with appropriate graduate schools, Research Institute and centers.

Second, teacher training should take place at nine to-be-selected regional non-Indian universities, and at Indian community colleges as determined by diverse tribal needs.

Third, vocational and educational needs should be met at existing Indian reservation community colleges and the nine selected regional non-Indian universities.

Fourth, financial aid to Indian students should be met by education appropriations from the Congress through the BIA, based on demographic projections. It must be established by the American Indian Lawyers Association, Indian legal and treaty specialists, that education is a basic right of Indians and not a privilege as it is now interpreted.

INDIAN STUDIES IN NON-INDIAN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

The National Advisory Council on Indian Education, in consultation with the National Tribal Chairmen's Association and the National Indian Education Association, must determine where federal dollars should go. These monies should be utilized based on: institutional commitment and capabilities, Indian tribal involvement and support, curricula geared to tribal needs, Indian faculty and guidance counselors, financial support through tuition waivers and scholarships, and high Indian population impact.

Possibly nine areas should be selected as follows: Great Lakes, Central Plains, Northeast, Southeast, Southern, Southwest, Rocky Mountain, West Coast and Alaska.

Proliferation of Indian programs should be controlled or curtailed. Proliferation results in the ineffective dispersal of the few Indian administrators, faculty and guidance counselors now available. Continued proliferation should begin at a now undetermined date when reservations' post-secondary needs have been met by graduating Indian personnel who would be serving either at the nine selected non-Indian colleges and universities or at the various reservation post-secondary education centers.

COMMUNITY COLLEGES ON THE RESERVATION

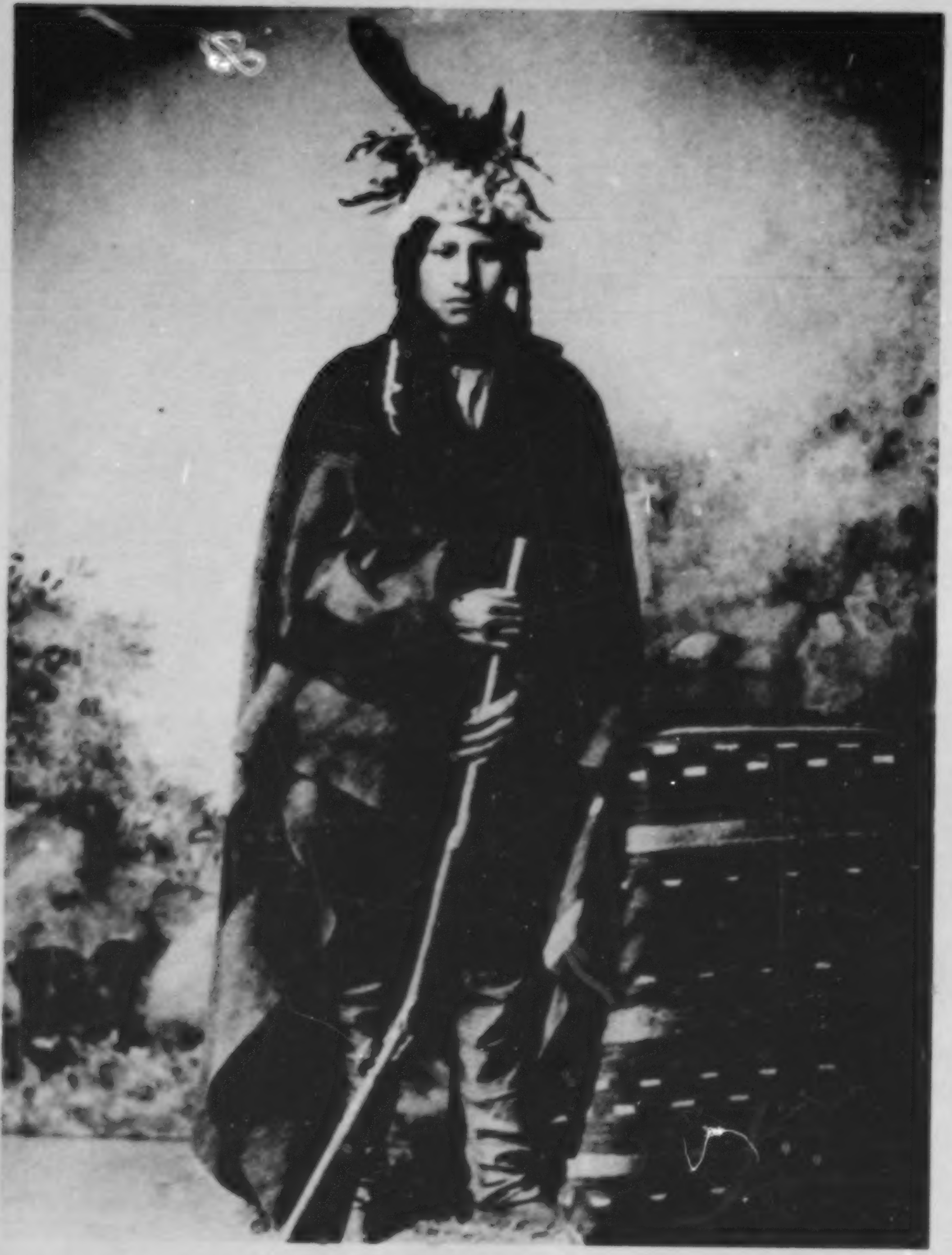
Congress must appropriate comprehensive annual funding for basic support of all post-secondary learning centers on the reservation. This would include operating costs, administration, faculty and building costs as determined by the specific tribes. Succeeding appropriations would support developing community colleges on reservations at a projected rate of five per annum.

Individual tribes have different post-secondary educational goals. Alternative educational modes are required in order to increase enrollment and retain students to meet tribal goals. Congress has recognized the need to put community colleges on reservations, and has set precedent by appropriating five million dollars for establishing the Navajo Community College.

I hope that American Indians will react to these dreams, and not surrender to the non-Indian American Dream. I hope we can make these dreams change things for the better. Build on them, so that our people may live.

I realize that these ideal schools may never come to be. They are, however, to be hoped for. I could only wish that I had sufficient knowledge of the beauty and richness of all the tribes, so that my imagination and perceptions were even more expansive. But my education has been poor.

I hope, however, that other Indian people will criticize these ideas, improve on them, and, in the words of a *Yaqui brujo*, help us to "thrust ourselves into inconceivable new worlds."



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Rosemary Christensen, a member of the Anishinabe tribe, is an authority on the history of Native American women. She coordinated the First National Indian Education Conference and is a founding member of the National Indian Education Association. Currently, she is Project Administrator of the Title IV Indian Education Program in the Minneapolis Public Schools as well as a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Minnesota.

William G. Demmert, Jr. holds both Ed.M. and Ed.D. degrees. He has participated in the First Convocation of Indian Scholars in New Jersey, and has directed the American Indian Program at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, gaining nationwide exposure of the educational needs of Native Americans. He has served as consultant in the United States Senate for the Indian Education Act; he co-directed the Indian Education Act Planning Team of 1972. Former Deputy Commissioner of the Office of Indian Education, he now directs the Bureau of Indian Affairs Office of Indian Education Programs. His tribal affiliation is Tlingit/Sioux. The National Education Association voted Mr. Demmert Indian Educator of the Year in 1977.

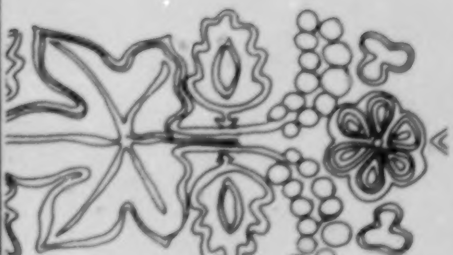
THE EDUCATION OF INDIANS AND THE MANDATE OF HISTORY

Rosemary Ackley Christensen
With William G. Demmert

The present system for the education of Indian people is one that is imposed on a minority people by a dominant group. Except in a very few instances, it is a system that does not come from, nor is controlled by the parents of the children it serves. Indian education today is a failure by a great many indices.

The extent of that failure has been documented by numerous investigators, at times with the blessing of the United States government. Two studies were sanctioned by the United States Congress: one in 1928, commonly called *The Meriam Report*; and the other in 1969 entitled *Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge*. The conclusions of both studies are strikingly similar, and those findings can be summed up in one word: failure. This documented failure of an educational system is called "Indian Education."

The beginning of the Indian educational system can be traced to the beginning of white-Indian relationships. Attempts by the federal government to educate the Indian have caused a deterioration of both his life-style and economic position. An Indian elder noted this phenomenon in Benjamin Franklin's time in 1744 when he described tribal members who returned to tribal life from the schools of the white man. They were unfit for tribal life, did not speak the tribal language well, hence were unfit to be counselors and were unable to make a worthwhile contribution to the tribe. The conclusions of this Indian in the seventeenth century appear to be relevant today when one considers the state of Indian education.



Nevertheless, legal and historical evidence exists demonstrating that tribes can rightfully control the educational processes of their children. This evidence is morally and legally strong. The notion that legal autonomy for Indian tribes exists and extends to all aspects of tribal life including education, leads to the conclusion that American Indians have the legal right to *control* their education through a variety of methods, including elected school boards. Indians should wield complete authority over administration, personnel, finances and curriculum in the school. The option of choosing separate and equal schools or regular public schools also is open to Indian people. The federal government is legally responsible for full and direct funding for school construction and operational expense.

The first part of this investigation will define Indian autonomy, with evidence to support the concept. A discussion of the implications of the autonomy concept on the main issue of Indian control of education will follow. Community control, the option of separate or public schools, autonomous school boards, federal funding, and curriculum will all be discussed as they affect the position of this investigation. Finally, recommendations will be made for the future of Indian education.

TRIBAL AUTONOMY

The federal government and the courts view the autonomy of an Indian tribe as existing only as long as it is supported by these two institutions themselves. Indians, however, view tribal autonomy as an immutable right.

Tribal autonomy — the independent self-determination of Indian tribes — has always existed. From the well-organized League of the Iroquois, to other loosely aligned Indian tribes, Indians have controlled their own affairs on these shores without major interference until the advent of the white man.

The United States government in the beginning recognized Indian tribes as sovereign powers to be treated with respect and wooed as allies. Business was conducted by signing treaties. The federal government did not continue, however, to treat Indian tribes this way, and today Indian tribes are not treated as if they have autonomy. However, tribes continue to claim autonomous jurisdiction over many of their own affairs.

Frequently in the past these claims have been upheld by the courts of the United States. One of the most famous cases, *Worchester v. Georgia*, in 1828, recognized that tribes ". . . had always been considered as distinct, independent, political communities, retaining their original natural rights." Therefore, tribes continue to have jurisdiction over large fields of criminal and civil law which determine questions of tribal membership, inheritance, taxation, property, domestic relations, and form of government. Statutes, customs, and decisions of the proper tribal government have the force of law. Tribal autonomy with jurisdiction over internal tribal affairs cannot be changed as long as the United States recognizes special Indian-federal relationships. Even then, the relationship can cease only if Indians themselves give up their special rights voluntarily. The noted pioneer in the field of Indian law, Felix S. Cohen, wrote a well-reasoned argument in his Handbook of Federal Indian Law: "The important point seems to me to be that all the peculiar legal relationships that seem to encumber the Indian are in the final analysis really obligations of the federal government to the Indian which only the Indian can waive." Treaties, court cases and congressional actions as well as various state actions have reinforced the notion of tribal autonomy. *(See Appendix I)*

Tribal autonomy and controls over tribal affairs must lead to the recognition of the right of the tribal group to control education of Indian children. Indians ought to explore several areas that may be fruitful to this end. One of the most promising approaches is the avenue of customs and tradition. Indian people have values, customs and life-styles different from the dominant cultural groups in the United States. The study of these has sparked books, media materials, research projects and other avenues of communication. Anthropologists, sociologists and other scholars have enriched their own life-style and earned a good living by collecting data on these differences.

Respected educators such as Jerome Bruner and B.F. Skinner teach the concept that the culture of a people is reflected in and passed on through their educational system. The way a people choose to educate their children is most important. Serious attention to methods and content of education insures that special customs, values and life-styles of the culture are passed on to the children.

Witness how successful the dominant system has been in educating children regarding the "discovery of America." History books continue to teach that Christopher Columbus "discovered" America. The system has taught this fact so well that even Indian children can quote the old saw, "In 1492, Columbus sailed the ocean blue." Contemporary Indian children come home with pictures to color depicting this historic event.

Thus, Indian people claim that schools do not attempt to teach Indian values or life-styles. Psychological damage to Indian children results in part from this value alienation, which has been spotlighted in educational literature for many years. Indices such as the high suicide rate among Indian youth, the dropout rate, and the total overall failure of Indian education, emphasize the conflict of cultures. Additionally, Indian people have attempted to live their beliefs. Tenacious clinging to traditional practices and values in a variety of tribal groups is evidenced in the literature. Also, the historic reservation system itself advances the argument for living one's beliefs. In this respect no one group has so lived their beliefs in America as the Indian. Authentic history affirms this fact.

Many ways have been tried to educate the Indian child. Indian control of Indian education must be given a chance. The customs, life-style, and values of the Indian community should be reflected in Indian education through the actual participation of the people themselves. It can happen. In 1972, Bobby Clay, a Miccosukee Indian from Florida, had truancy charges dropped against him for keeping his children out of public schools. Indian people can and should demand separate schools for their children, or demand that public schools build Indian cultural values through the educational experience. This is essential, if the desire to remain Indian is important at all.

COMMUNITY CONTROL

Two tribal groups in the past can be used as models for Indian control of Indian education. These tribes — the Choctaw of Mississippi and Oklahoma, and the Cherokees of Oklahoma — designed a school system in 1841 which taught their children to read and write in English and their tribal language. The system proved even more successful than those of the surrounding white communities. The literacy level of western Oklahoma Cherokees at that time was higher than the white populations of either Texas or Arkansas. From the date of its establishment in 1841, until the very last years of the Cherokee Nation, the Cherokee national government ran the school system with complete autonomy. U.S. government agents did not come to visit Cherokee schools until after June 30, 1898. The success of these groups argues strongly for Indian control.

By contrast, models of failure in Indian education are easily found in most current educational systems serving Indian children. The failure of the federal government in taking over the school systems of the old Cherokees and the Choctaws is well documented. It contrasts sharply with the succcessful efforts of the tribal people. The government took over the educational system for the Cherokees in 1906. Cherokee education at that time began its downward trend and presently is almost completely alienated from the white-controlled school system.

More recent examples of community control and subsequent Indian competency can be found in the Navajo Rough Rock Demonstration School at Chinle, Arizona, the Anishinabe Pine Point Demonstration School in Donsford, Minnesota, and a number of Indian controlled public schools in the state of Alaska. The Coalition of Indian-Controlled School Boards, Inc. (CICSB) formed in 1971 shows the strong trend toward these models.

Community control is an exciting concept in Indian education. Before communities can implement control, however, they must understand the term and its ramifications. Athabaskan Educator Andrew Lawson stated in 1972 that the history and meanings of community control must be understood by the Indian people. Lawson emphasized how important it is for people to understand the basic model before accepting or rejecting it. Lawson said: "It is possible that Indians are attempting to modify the present model of community control, but do not completely understand it. When Indian people are thoroughly familiar with the extant model of community control they may reject it for one better suited to their needs."

With few exceptions, the model of community control as practiced in school districts in the United States today is a simple one. A school board elected by a majority of the people ostensibly makes the decisions in the school district for its educational system. The administration of the school district interacts with the school board to implement board policy. But actual observation of school board activities and reading of the literature on this subject shows the imperfections of this model. In actuality, the superintendent or the school administrator controls information given to the school board. The school board in turn becomes a reacting board to the superintendent. A good superintendent is a good politician. Seldom does a board actually attempt to filter through itself the wishes and needs of the community. If portions of the community are ethnic-minority people, their wishes and needs are even further relegated to the bottom of the "in-basket."

Indian people can react to the above model in several ways. One would be to work within the system, attempting to elect a school board receptive to the needs and wishes of the Indian community. Such a model assumes that Indian people can, through an elective process which depends on majority wishes, gain their educational needs. In such a system, the school board would reflect the wishes of the community. The culture, biases and goals of the community would be interpreted by school board members to the administration who in turn implement policy.

The basic problem with such a model is that Indian people in most areas constitute a minority. How can a minority of the school district population achieve its educational goals when such goals may contradict the wishes of the majority? A recent example of such an occurrence is Menominee County of Wisconsin. The Menominee Indian community, clustered in Menominee County, is in the attendance area of Shawano School District No. 8. The Indian population is a scant 30 percent of the total population. The Indians have been unable in the past to elect a Menominee to the school board. Frustration over this situation may well have prompted the Menominees to start their own community school outside the realm of the Shawano School District. At least a portion of the Menominee population opted to withdraw from the regular school system in order to further the education of their children, Menominee-style. Situations similar to this are occurring throughout Indian country.

In an ideal situation, community control would mean that community wishes are reflected in the school. The community would be assured that the school is a true reflection of its culture, life-style and values. This ideal situation may not be possible within the realm of the present system. Indian people must understand the varied definitions of community control, consider each, then design their own models based on their assessed needs.

SEPARATE SCHOOLS: SEGREGATION?

In any discussion of Indian control of Indian education, the question of segregation needs to be explored. Indian control of schools within or without the system will expand in several directions.

Urban Indian communities could attend existent public schools or attempt a separate Indian controlled system financed with government funds. Useful examples might be the "survival schools" designed and activated by the militant American Indian Movement (AIM) in various cities in the 1970s, including Minneapolis and St. Paul, Minnesota. Under all-Indian control, some of these were funded with monies from the federal Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), and others from the Office of Native American Programs (ONAP) in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW).

Another option could be an urban community controlling a school inside the system. The regular public school system would certify the graduates and help with funding from tax dollars, but the control would be in the hands of the Indian people. This trend was observable at Duluth, Minnesota, where Duluth Indian Action Council sponsored a school "within the system" as far as accrediting was concerned. Lunches were provided by the system, but control was vested with the Duluth Indian Action Council. Student population of such schools would be limited to American Indians. This choice is possible in large urban communities such as Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and Chicago, and in smaller urban communities such as Duluth.

In communities where Indians are not the majority, but constitute a large minority, Indians could demand the school reflect their culture, and life-style in the same manner that majority culture and values are represented. Representation on a local school board would be a reasonable goal for such a community. However, representation might be difficult if not impossible to achieve under the present system of elections by majority. Other avenues need to be explored in order to exercise this option. Close and sincere cooperation of the non-Indian community is necessary in this model. Perhaps a valid avenue of approach would be to strive for legal sanction, insisting schools reflect the cultural plurality of their communities.

A third direction to consider arises when Indian people constitute a majority in a particular community. Such a situation may occur on or near large reservations.

Whatever direction community control takes, the issue of segregated schools will occur. Segregation interpreted by court decisions will need to be explored and discussed by the Indian community. The most famous court case, *Brown v. the Board of Education*, warrants serious consideration. The *Brown* decision can be viewed in at least three ways. First, segregation of identifiable groups by race is inherently unequal. Therefore, any educational process that separates by race or color, whether the measure devised for that purpose is deliberate or not, is unequal and therefore unconstitutional. A second interpretation is that segregation in schools is unequal only if the people it touches define it as unequal. That is, if a minority decides segregation is undesirable and conducive to feelings of inferiority, then segregation is unequal and unconstitituional.

Several problems occur in the second interpretation. The minority in question would have to be unanimous in its decision. If not, one parent could decide he doesn't like the segregated system and ask for redress through the courts. This means that additional administrative and bureaucratic problems could surface which would tie up the courts and the system in question. We admit and recognize the problem of the second interpretation. It is beyond the scope of this investigation to explore this facet further, other than to say that although it poses difficult problems, it is an interpretation.

A third interpretation of the *Brown* decision would focus importance on the *end* result of the educational process. That is, the end result of the schooling process relates to whether or not segregation is considered unequal. If the achievement scores, for example, are below average in a segregated school and other things are equal, then segregation itself needs to be examined as a possible reason for the low scores. Perhaps poor white children could go to school with middle-income whites, or black children could go to school with middle-class Blacks to mix children by social and economic factors rather than race. Whatever reading of the *Brown* decision is reinforced and upheld by courts in the future will give some indication as to whether Indians can expect to be allowed to have all-Indian schools. If the first interpretation is affirmed by the courts — that segregation in itself is inherently unequal — then Indian schools may be declared unconstitutional. Legal sanction on this question ought to be explored and include the second *Brown* interpretation, along with treaties, laws and court cases arguing the Indian right to autonomy over tribal affairs.

Another aspect of segregation is the Indian attitude toward it, which, historically, is different than other minorities in this country. Indians have not raised a hue and cry against segregation. Indians have been segregated by the government in federal boarding schools since 1882. Federal Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding schools are limited to Indian people and are, therefore, intentionally segregated. One must be at least one-fourth Indian before one is accepted into federal boarding schools. In scanning the Senate subcommittee hearing reports of the 1960s, one notes with interest that the problem most Indian people complain about regarding BIA boarding schools is not segregation. Rather they complain that children have been mistreated, were taught in English only, were punished for speaking their Native tongue, and were taught only American history. Teachers were insensitive to Indian children in many cases, and the staff was not large enough to give children necessary attention. It is apparent from the testimony that Indians considered much wrong with federal boarding schools. They, therefore, recommended that federal boarding schools be updated and reorganized; phasing out certain personnel while adding specialized staff and relevant Indian curriculum. Not one person complained that federal boarding schools were bad or needed change because they were *segregated*. The testimony of Indian people regarding federal schools or other schools Indian children attend emphasizes lack of control over curriculum and staff, not segregation.

Another aspect of segregation is the Indian reservation. As long as reservations exist, Indians will be segregated. There is no collected consensus of Indian opinion regarding reservations. Some Indians might favor termination, but many Indians, including those living on the reservations, favor the system as it is, recognizing it as the last Indian land remaining from original holdings. Regardless of personal choice, Indians can and will segregate as long as Indian land remains. The Indian attitude toward segregation can be expressed by Lloyd Kiva New, director of the Santa Fe Institute of American Indian Arts who has said: "Strangely enough, Indian people tend to cling to their traditional ways, living apart from the mainstream of America, and in this sense they have chosen to live in a self-imposed ghetto." Indians segregate in order to preserve tribal traditions. The face Indians turn toward segregation is a Janus face. Segregation is not viewed with alarm nor tied up with feelings of inferiority. Rather, it is seen as a necessary part of maintaining cultural identity, pride and traditions.

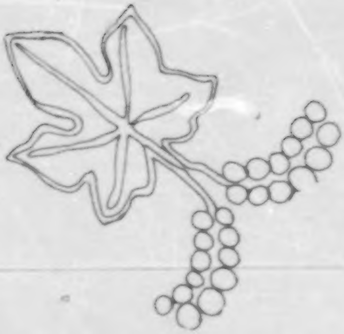
Thus, Indians have not raised a great cry against segregation because it is not one of their major grievances.

The case for control of Indian education based on cultural differences and the right of passing these differences on to the next generation appears to be bolstered by recent court decisions. Additionally, Indian communities need to study the relevance of the *Brown* decision to a segregated school system. We must be aware of possible precedents in boarding school structure, be cognizant of school system structure as it now exists, and study treaties and court decisions that emphasize autonomy. Thus fully armed, we can seek court sanctions on Indian-controlled schools. Legally and morally Indian communities must take the issue to court. It is necessary for Indian people to set these precedents. Indian rights built on treaties, congressional acts and continuous legal precedents will give these rights a living legal reality.

Morally, Indian people must force the dominant non-Indian majority to realize that the melting pot theory is unnecessary, unreal and wrong for tribal people. Indians must help non-Indians see the need for tribal values and customs, for if non-tribal people wish to survive, they must adopt some of the values of tribal people. This country is rapidly destroying itself with its values of competition, conquest over nature, and material wealth at any cost.

THE ELECTED SCHOOL BOARD: ONE MODEL OF CONTROL

The Indian community must look at the school board and its function as a model of control over education of its young. Different models could be considered, but the school board model must be understood by Indian people in order to accept or reject it as an alternative. An elected school board of community people has a responsibility to understand the mechanics of the school system. An election procedure may need to be established if one does not already exist. This includes learning about the electorial process, campaigns, voting procedures and candidates' records. Indians must familiarize themselves with elementary parliamentary procedures in *Robert's Rules of Order*. We often appear foolish because we do not know these rules.



When preliminary necessities are taken care of and a school board duly representative of the community is ensconced, the real work of the school district is begun. The school board must hire a chief administrator who becomes knowledgeable regarding the philosophy of the community and implements that philosophy in all aspects of the school process. Thus curriculum, staffing patterns, and training of all school personnel will reflect that philosophy. Approving the teaching and support staff selected by an administrator is an important part of school board duty. A staff must be found that knows or will learn about the community and its people. The staff must

know how to teach, which implies special training when teachers are unknowledgeable regarding Indian life-style and behavior patterns. The staff must respect the people they are teaching and they must be willing to become a part of the community. This may sound very elementary to white people who take this for granted in their teachers, but not many Indian schools exist where such can be said of the teachers. The support staff, such as the janitors, secretaries, and cooks must be knowledgeable and sensitive to the Indian constituency. These people are important to any school day and their impact is fully felt by the students, but frequently overlooked in training sessions held for the school staff. Sometimes the unnecessary and unknowing cruelty of a support staff member may make the difference in whether a child stays in school or drops out.

Another important aspect of an autonomous school board is that of fiscal control. He who controls the purse strings truly controls the operation. A complete understanding of the school's budget, both income and expenditures, is necessary for a sound system. The school board's ability will develop in time if involvement and experience with this facet of control becomes a reality.

The total process of operating a school system must become an actual experience for a school board. Indian school boards must demand the right to have that experience. It is only through experiencing the actual process that Indian people will learn to control their own lives in a responsible fashion. Indian people have the right to learn while making mistakes. This right has too long been denied to Indian people under the guise of federal and state paternalism, and it can only be modified or rejected if it is completely understood.

FUNDS – WHERE WILL THEY COME FROM?

As citizens of the United States, Indians are entitled to services guaranteed other citizens. As aboriginal Natives, Indians surrendered land and other natural resources by treaty to the federal government, usually under duress and with little understanding of the process involved. Indians expected to receive just compensation for these concessions. The American Indian is, therefore, entitled today to funds for construction and operating expenses of his education system. Many people believe that Indian people are getting something for nothing when they receive various services from the federal government. This is false. The Indian paid in advance for these services. Many of the small sums of money called for in treaties attest that Indian people were not interested in money for land ceded to the federal government. The Indians wanted services "as long as the grass shall grow" in exchange for title to the land. One of the services most treaties mentioned was education. Although in the symbolic, beautiful language of our early elders, still the words "as long as the grasses grow and the rivers flow" meant forever. Indians expected services from the government in exchange for the land. Services are what the Indian can expect and has the right to today. Indians no longer have the land base they once had and they cannot pay taxes. But they paid in advance — in blood and land — for the service of education.

CURRICULUM: ITS ROLE

A final area of concern for any community interested in controlling the education of their children is the matter of school curriculum. Indian control of the educational process makes sense only if control of the curriculum is a fact. State requirements need to be considered, but it should be the decision of the local Indian community how the curriculum is *processed*. Indian people need to assess what it is they wish their children to learn. How the children learn and the methodology used by the teachers, must reflect the life-style, culture, and values of the Indian community.

As an example, most Indians agree that non-Indians have an odd way of valuing land. Indians revere the land in a religious sense. Such an attitude gives the Indian a different approach to the whole buying-selling competitive routine that most non-Indians see as necessary. The Indian approach ought to be reflected in the curriculum. Reading material, film, displays and whatever else the schools use in the teaching process might need to be examined and reinterpreted. Consider that Indians may not be as competitive as non-Indians, or that Indians may compete in a different way. Indians may relish competition between groups but not between individuals. Such differing attitudes may mean that the Indian child in the classroom has different reinforcement patterns. The community should demand through the school board that school personnel be aware of and use the reinforcement patterns the child is accustomed to at home. As a matter of course, non-Indian children have this right. They are usually taught by teachers who use incentives and punishments familiar to them from their homes. The Anglo-Protestant ethic holds "Spare the rod and spoil the child." Many parents spank their children, and it is an accepted folk custom in the schools of this country. Teachers in the past had the right to physically punish children. Although this custom is fading, even today teachers inflict physical punishment on children. The courts and tradition uphold it.

Consider then, the plight of the Indian, coming from a home where it is thought unfair, barbaric, and unwise to hit a child. Such a tradition existed in the roots of American Indian culture, and is still practiced by many American Indian parents today.

Other examples similar to the two above could be given showing how American Indian customs and life-style differ from the non-Indian. Indian custom and life-style have always been different. Contrary to the thrust of immigrant groups coming to this country, Indians held on to their differences, asking only that these differences be recognized and respected by other Americans. Although some Indians have assimilated into the dominant non-Indian society, there is a sizeable number who wish to continue in the traditional life-style of their people, and to teach their children in the tribal way.

Only with Indian control, however, will the nuances of cultural differences be made an integral part of the curriculum. The foregoing discussion has only touched the surface of the inherent differences between Indian and non-Indian. Not only must the curriculum of a school reflect Indian culture in subject matter such as history and language, but also the process of teaching must reflect the Indian's values, culture, life-style and behavior patterns. This is not to imply or suggest that the curriculum would contain only Indian-related items. Equally important, the curriculum should contain subject matter needed for the child to live successfully in the dominant society if he chooses that road. Basic subjects such as mathematics, English, reading and the sciences would need to be an important part of the school day. The difference in an Indian-controlled school would be that the community would decide the process and method of teaching the subject matter. Also, they would have the option of adding subject matter purely Indian in nature. This delineation is important because among Indians, one person or one group does not speak for another person or group. Such a tradition existed in the tribes before the European came to this country. Indian tribes, on the whole, were democratic. Each individual's opinion was important, and one person did not decide for the group. It remains so for many Indian people today. Although one may hold it very important for an Indian-controlled school to reflect Indian values, there are other groups that may wish to assimilate as rapidly as possible. Some may wish to emphasize tribal language in school, while others may make English the only language allowed. Each group should have the right and the means to control this in their own schools. Presently few Indian communities have such rights to decide the direction of the educational process.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In conclusion, the pivotal point in this investigation is repeated: Indians have autonomy within the context of treaties signed in good faith between tribes and the federal government. Further, court cases and congressional actions reinforce this doctrine. Indians, regardless of geographic location, have the right to autonomy unless they voluntarily choose to negate it. Indians are entitled to federal financing based on land wealth ceded to the government, an exchange for services for which the Indian paid *in advance*. The right to control education of Indian children is an inherent part of this doctrine. In order to implement Indian community control the following actions are recommended:

Indian communities must organize experimental Indian schools on reservations, in rural communities and in urban Indian communities.

Indians must become familiar with individual rights as citizens of the U.S. and rights as members of autonomous tribes.

Indian law must be a part of Indian education.

Indians must accept responsibility for the education of their children, either through Indian control of schools or by making a reasonable contribution to existing systems of the dominant society.

The right to federal and state funding must be firmly established. The moral and legal responsibility of the federal government must be fully met.

The federal government must begin meeting its responsibility through a program designed to meet the total needs of Indians; not with a piecemeal approach.

A Cabinet post position must be set up to deal with the question of Indian-federal relationships.

A national board on Indian education must be established with both fiscal and coordinating powers.

Indians must make the opportunities of an education available to their total population.

A clearinghouse for literature and studies on Indians and Indian education must be established, so available materials can be put to practical use.

Scholarship funds should be established by Indians and non-Indian friends on a matching basis with federal funds.

Indians must work together on educational items which require national attention as well as work to solve the problems of geographic areas.

Indian leaders need to be supported by Indian people.

Indian leaders need to be aware of and sensitive to local needs.

Indians must run their own affairs, while recognizing the need to hire experts for advice when necessary.

Indians need actual political strength by putting Indians into national, state, and local politics.

Indian rights need to be protected through expert lobbyists working in all levels of government.

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TEACHERS FOR INDIAN CHILDREN

Roger Wilson

There are many areas throughout the United States where schools and the communities which feed them lie far from the nearest college or school of education. These areas are particularly common in the western states, Arizona, New Mexico, Wisconsin, Wyoming and the Dakotas being excellent examples. Most isolated and usually most distant from the institutions of higher education are the larger Indian reservations so that the schools dealing most with Indian children seldom are used for teacher-intern training or in-service courses for present teachers. Ironically, although the elementary and high schools in these areas are operated mainly for Indian children, the teachers who staff the schools often know nothing of the special characteristics of reservation life, of the language and culture of their pupils, or the best ways to teach children of non-Anglo backgrounds. For the most part teachers in these schools have been trained in the traditional manner, having taken the usual courses including psychology, child development, and methods of teaching. In terms of practical application, they have spent from six to eight weeks in a student teaching laboratory where the children come from predominantly non-Indian, urban or suburban homes.

Indian children because of their isolated situation and cultural and linguistic background need the best qualified teachers the schools of education can produce. Reservation schools often do get qualified teachers from good colleges, but if the teacher has been recruited from a populous eastern area and has never been in the West before, he is in for a series of shocks when he enters upon his career in Navajo or Hopi country. First comes the physical shock of the light and space and emptiness of the landscape, then the strangeness of the houses, fields, and crafts of the people. He, of course, is little prepared to understand either the language or the ways of his pupils or the Indian aspects of the "foreign" community he will find himself in.

However, upon reaching his destination in Kayenta, Dennihotso, or Keams Canyon, he feels a little more at ease. The

school buildings are modern, his own housing is more than adequate, and his neighbors on the compound all speak English. Overnight he has hurdled the language - culture barrier. He thinks he is in a world he can cope with.

For a while the isolation, the distance from the nearest railhead or municipal airport, the sand between his teeth are novel - something to write home about. Then soon, driving 250 miles round trip for groceries and other necessities becomes a "drag", and in bad weather, over unsurfaced roads, "town" becomes a tantalizing dream.

In spite of the creeping frustration he feels at home, he feels he should make glorious progress with the untouched minds of his pupils in the classroom. Here, however, he finds himself slowed down, even blocked, unable to make himself clear or to get the response he'd got in practice teaching.

The children in the classroom also encounter frustrations not too different from the teacher's. To them the teacher and his language are foreign, the surroundings with their stiff furniture and unaccustomed patterns are foreign, the rules and regulations concerning behavior, and the threat of discipline are foreign. Many feel homesick and miss their pets and families, and long for their customary freedom of movement out of doors.

If our teacher is in the primary grades, he finds that the children speak little if any English. The intermediate teacher finds his pupils have made some progress in vocabulary and comprehension, but both he and the class find communication limited if not difficult. The upper grade teacher soon finds that he must not require too many compound sentences in compositions or, in giving instruction himself, use the compound-complex sentence. How can this be, when everyone knows that English is the Universal Language?

At the end of the school year, the teacher who has lasted that long finds his worst suspicions confirmed by the results of the standardized achievement tests. With the exception of spelling, arithmetic computation, and, to some extent, the social studies, the results are quite sad. The drilling in arithmetic and spelling paid off. As for the social studies, an area which is primarily under the thumb of the federal government, it's not hard to remember that Washington was your father.

Three important factors now enter the picture to plague the teacher. Depending on his attitude toward this first year's experience, they may not necessarily be in the following order. First, he is conscious of the fact that cultural and language differences *do* exist. But, he wonders, how much are they to blame for the net results of the hard year he has just put in. He has no way of knowing, and that depresses him. Second, the logistics of the situation have depressed his family as well as him — distances so great and isolation — whew! Third, he has experienced a frustrating year because he *wanted* to do a good job and he has lacked success almost all around in the classroom.

Will he stay and take advantage of the things he has learned this year, or will he leave and be replaced by another novice who will have to struggle through a similar experience to a similar end? It's now May 31 and he has until the middle of August to make a decision. During this time, while making up his mind, he can get in two weeks of vacation, take advantage of educational leave, or remain on the compound (and on the pay roll) helping to paint the lavatories or count paper clips.

This picture of muddle and frustration in reservation schools involves both the new teacher and the pupils. Most of us concerned with Indian education realize the sad truth of the picture just sketched. We see the teacher's lack of information about the children themselves, their language, their culture, and the community they spring from as prime inhibitors of their educational development in the schools. We also see the teacher's reaction to frustration in the classroom, isolation and distance as a prime factor in the attrition of teaching personnel.

What to do?

We obviously cannot offer a different physical environment for the new teacher, so the answer seems to be to get a different type of teacher, the ideal reservation teacher. How can we recruit or produce such teachers? One way would be to retrain existing staff; another would be to get the cooperation of Colleges of Education to help prospective teachers to learn enough of an Indian culture and language to deal effectively with children of that culture and language. Also, the teacher candidate would have to know, or be initiated into, the realities of reservation life before being asked to teach in Indian country.

Another way to get the ideal reservation teacher would be to take as candidates people who are native to the area, familiar with the language and culture, and accustomed to the isolation and distances involved in living and teaching on a reservation. In Northern Arizona this means recruitment of Navajo and Hopi Indian students, something very little encouraged in the not too distant past.

Until quite recently there was almost no encouragement for Indians to enter the teaching profession. So-called achievement and placement tests indicated to most schools that Indian students would do best in the clerical and vocational fields. Therefore, these are the areas where most Indian students who entered trade schools, colleges, or universities are to be found. This placement policy has produced a small pool of technically trained young people who find little opportunity to put their skills into practice when they return to their home areas. Those graduates wishing to remain in the mainstream of the dominant society encounter keen competition and, with the exception of civil service positions, find it difficult to survive in jobs outside the reservation. These young Indian men and women with their vocational or fairly good liberal studies backgrounds find themselves presently working as teacher aides or in clerical positions. Many need only the opportunity and some encouragement to enter the profession of teaching.

Another source of teachers which we must recognize is the group of earnest non-Indians who desire to teach on the reservation and have the dedication to stay where they are needed. However, desire and dedication are difficult to measure, and ability to acclimate to reservation conditions can be measured only after the fact. Now here is where the Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps based on the Northern Arizona University campus comes in. It is, so far, the best instrument for developing, shaping, and tempering the prospective ideal teacher for our Indian children.

The Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps Program was the first major effort to get "the ideal teacher" for the reservation schools. There were teacher-interns from Teacher Corps in several Indian schools serving the Sioux tribes in Nebraska and South Dakota in 1966, and the interns involved received academic training at the University of Nebraska in Omaha, but the enrollment of these schools was not primarily Indian children.

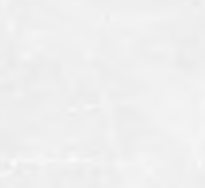
The Teacher Corps began as a result of Congressional legislation in 1965 with the first programs getting under way in 1966. The Northern Arizona University program got started in the summer of 1968 with five participating schools on the Navajo Indian land. In 1969, five more schools, some Hopi, the others Navajo, joined the program. There are now projects operating on Indian reservations in ten states.

About half the current projects are in major cities, including nearly all of the 25 largest. Most of the rest involve smaller towns and rural areas, taking in migrant camps, Spanish-speaking communities, Indian reservations, and parts of Appalachia and the Ozarks.

Teacher Corps projects usually team up with a university school of education, one or more nearby school districts, and the school communities. A federal grant enables the participating parties to work together toward educational reform and innovation for two years. The Washington staff of the Teacher Corps assists each program to attain its objectives and offers help when difficulties arise.

The Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps Program is part of the nationwide effort to produce qualified teachers for areas with high concentrations of low income families, while encouraging colleges and universities to broaden and specify their teacher preparation programs. The people who designed and constantly redesign the local program expect that it will strengthen educational opportunities for Navajo and Hopi children as well as encourage members of the two tribes to enter the teaching field. The university and Corps staff people also expect that what the Corps learns will be disseminated to other schools of education, other states, other local educational agencies to the noticeable improvement of education in communities scattered over the country.

The Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps program is administered through the College of Education of Northern Arizona University with funds coming from the United States Office of Education under the Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare. Representatives of the NAU College of Education staff, the two co-directors of the Teacher Corps Program, officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs agencies and schools, personnel of the public schools involved, and members of the tribal governments all have a part in planning for the two year phases or cycles by which a "class" of interns learns what and how to teach on the Navajo and the Hopi reservations.



This by no means exhausts the list of cooperating groups in a Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps program. By means of Indian interns, parents in the school community get drawn into consuiation about curriculum changes, staff changes, and changes in school policy. Other adults get involved in the presentation of native lore - folktales, customs and information - to children in the classroom. Some attend General Educational Development or other adult interest classes. Thus, the university, the BIA Agencies, local educational agencies and the local community are involved with one another to their mutual benefit. Not only do the children get better instruction, but feedback to the School of Education helps toward modification of teacher training and dissemination of new ideas to all the schools in the area.

A most interesting aspect of the Corps' procedure is the planned involvement of the university, local educational agency, and Indian parents in the selection of all team members. A review committee including the above mentioned representatives previews, assesses, and interviews all applicants, all of whom will be spending their next two years in a reservation school if they pass muster.

The Navajo-Hopi program operates on a team basis with each participating school supplying a team leader for the five or six teacher interns assigned to it. These teacher interns are students of at least junior or senior standing with a minimum of 60 semester hours college credit. Each one must evidence a strong interest in and commitment to improving educational opportunities for Indian children. Team leaders are experienced teachers in the local school. They take part in various aspects of the preservice summer sessions with which interns begin their "apprenticeship". The interns during the preservice weeks decide which team leader and school they wish to associate themselves with and they are normally assigned to the school and leader of their choice. Team leaders are normally on the payroll of the local educational agency so that their salaries form part of the local financial support of the Teacher Corps effort.

The average intern, nationwide, is 23 years of age, somewhat more likely to be male than female, and a member of a minority group in almost 50% of the cases. Many already have a bachelor's degree and will receive the Master of Arts on completion of the program. The undergraduates will receive a Bachelor of Science at the successful completion of their two years. Ten percent of the interns are 30 years old or over, and many are married, with an average of 1.4 children. This last group of interns shows the strongest tendency to drop out of the program because of problems stemming from trying to maintain a family on the limited time and salary the program allows them.

About 5% of those entering the summer preservice schooling drop out, leaving 95% who go on into actual internship. A very high percentage (86%) of those who complete the program have tended to stick with teaching and to work with children in low income areas.

In all, 47 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia have had Teacher Corps programs in operation; almost 10,000 interns have been trained, and thousands of students, parents, and teachers have had an opportunity to participate in the formulation of school programs. Currently, the Corps is serving children in 152 school systems, 37 states, in inner city ghettos, in correctional institutions, in the barrios of the Southwest and the hills of Appalachia. The projection for 1974 indicates that these numbers will substantially increase.

Applicants accepted by the Northern Arizona University Teacher Corps program, actually now called the Navajo-Hopi Teacher Corps, begin in their program by taking a preservice summer on the campus at Northern Arizona University. The classes include intensive study of the language and culture of the Indian people of the area, as the preservice work is designed to give the corps members the background to maneuver and manipulate within the total educational framework of the field situation. Basically, this preservice training will give a picture of the child in his environment — at home, in the school, and in the community. The seminar type course includes not only language and culture but the community, dealing with problems of cultural differences and child development.

At the end of summer the interns begin their first year's service. During inservice, actual techniques and theory coursework are offered in order that the intern may put into practice the principles of education as soon as he receives them. Instruction for interns in the Local Educational Agency is by video tape (micro teaching) and other audio-visual means, with lessons open for discussion with the team leader. The university, by constant supervision of the classroom internship and community activities, helps direct the intern in his choice of coursework for the interim summer.

In the classroom the five or six interns at a school usually begin by working with individual pupils in tutorial functions. They go on to small group work and eventually deal with the whole class, thus freeing the teacher for other duties. The members of the team rotate every six weeks so that each one gets experience in working with all grade levels. The classrooms may range from the traditional *self-contained* type to variations of the *open* and *portal* types. Each corps member, working with the team leader, fellow interns, teachers, and teacher aides, gets opportunities to work in the widest range of teaching situations the school provides.

About 60% of the intern's time goes to actual work in the classroom, where he learns teaching techniques as they apply to the Navajo or Hopi child. About 20% of his times goes into efforts to relate to and understand the community and to get community people to interact with the school; the remaining 20 percent goes to University studies.

As the interns begin to see how language and culture cause people in the community to react, they apply the insight to their classroom work and can better apply their knowledge of the general structure of the language when they give remedial work or plan English lessons. By means of this kind of program, with its many levels of feedback, the interns can plan their work and assess the children's achievement realistically. They will not search fruitlessly for mental or physical handicaps when their pupils seem incapable of hearing certain terminal consonants, misuse gender, or create amazing irregularities in the tenses of regular English verbs. They will have heard all this in the adult community from high and low alike. Also the interns know enough of the native language to appreciate the difficulties their pupils face in learning to use the foreign language, English.

Oddly enough, Indian interns usually require course work during the preservice or interim summer to learn some aspects of their own native language, the alphabets of which differ markedly from the English. Most Navajo and Hopi college freshmen can neither read nor write their own language though they learn to do both rapidly and with ease if they speak the language fluently and accurately. They also may need some course work in the structure and grammar of the language as well as in tribal history and political set-up.

The intern has to learn to deal with religious and social taboos or he finds himself in conflict with essential values of his pupils and the community. For example, he must know that clouds have his scientific account of their origin and a deeply held Hopi belief concerning their cause. The Hopi child has been taught all his life that clouds are smoke blown from the pipe of Pipmonqwi (tobacco chief). In a gym class or at a social dance, he must know that a boy and girl of the same Navajo name (clan) cannot dance together because "brother" and "sister" must not touch one another. This clan relationship, having nothing to do with blood kinship, is still one of the firmest bars to marriage in the tribe.

When the first year of internship ends, the interns go back to Northern Arizona University for a second summer's work. By now most know what grade level or subject areas they wish to specialize in so that they can plan their courses and ready themselves for the second school year on the reservation, when they actually do specialize under the team leader's guidance. At the end of the second successful year of internship, the intern receives his bachelor's degree or the master's degree and is ready to accept a teaching position on his own.

By this time the intern has had two years of reservation life. He knows a fair bit about the tribe he has worked with. He has had some real successes in his schoolroom and community experiences. He, whether Indian or non-Indian, should be able to survive the isolation and distance problems of reservation teaching and feel at home among "the people". He will not let the chain link fence which borders the compound isolate him as it has isolated so many teachers who have not had Teacher Corps background.

Although the rationale for surrounding the school and all its facilities with a high metal fence is that the fence keeps out stray cattle, the fence seems to keep teachers in, isolated from the Indian community. Up to the present, few teachers have tended to venture beyond the gates except to go to town or to the trading post, where they experience no language or cultural barriers. Thus, although the non-Indian teacher could be viewed as a minority within a minority while on the reservation, he seldom experiences the problems of crossing cultural barriers, one of his students' greatest problems.

In the classroom it is no different. The teacher can handle the language barriers for the moment by use of a native-speaking teacher aide or custodian. Don't get me wrong, many teachers in schools on the reservation are concerned, dedicated professional people and many stay a long time, but their effectiveness is limited until they gain a solid acquaintance with an understanding of the culture and "the people" they work among.

The attitude of the teacher is paramount. If there is one single thing we should instill into our prospective reservation teachers besides knowledge of subject matter, teaching methods and techniques, it is a positive attitude toward the children they will be teaching. The Indian child is as bright, as enthusiastic, as naughty, as lovable, as teachable . . . as human, as much of an individual as any child . . . anywhere. Cultural differences and language interfere with his easy achievement of goals the teacher sets for him. The same cultural differences (looking in the opposite direction) and language difficulties blind the "untaught teacher" to what is really happening. So student and teacher suffer frustration and failures which impell many to dropout.

Let's go back now and restate just what type of program we want for the new style reservation teacher so that Indian children will benefit by the best education that can be designed and administered for them. First, we have seen that the raw material is available in young Indian men and women with ability and the desire to become teachers, and in able non-Indians with a sincere interest in teaching Indian children. We still need some measurement tools to predict their success in performance and probable longevity as teachers on the reservation, but interest and real desire are basics we cannot do without. Secondly, we want a performance based program, one which places emphasis on the results produced in children and the community. This aim brings us back to the mandate

Congress gave to the Teacher Corps: "to broaden teacher education and serve the children of low income areas."

The Teacher Corps interprets "broaden teacher education" to mean the development and implementation of an effective alternative to the way teachers have been trained under standard teacher education programs. The Teacher Corps Statement of Mission identifies this alternative kind of teacher education program as *competency based teacher education.*

Competency based teacher education has a number of distinguishing characteristics. Teacher preparation goals are measured against three criteria: knowledge, performance, and product. *Knowledge* concerns a person's competence in terms of what he knows; *performance,* his competence in terms of what he can do; and *product,* his competence in terms of what the children can do and become as a result of their being taught by him. Typical traditional teacher training programs aim at developing the candidate's knowledge and skills quite explicitly; the child's growth and performance came into the picture only by implication and so are often neglected or imperfectly understood as goals for the trainee.

In competency based programs the minimum level of mastery or competency is established for each objective and the learner has as much time as he needs to complete the objectives successfully. The program planners take seriously the things educators say they believe about how learning occurs. As a result, learning objectives are carefully determined in advance and made clear to the teacher-trainee prior to his instruction. The basic units of competency based teacher education (CBTE) are modules, and each module sets forth its objectives and a variety of alternative ways a student may use to reach the objectives. The student may, with permission, set up his own way to achieve the objectives in the modules.

Since performance and product criteria are crucial to competency based teacher education, prospective teachers must receive instruction in a setting where each one can work directly with children. This means that "field work" begins early in the student's program and extends over a much longer time than observation and practice teaching does in most traditional programs.

Teacher Corps has established the "module" as a primary means of achieving a competency based program of instruction. Instructional modules vary in many ways: in difficulty, content, time requirements, objectives, etc., but they share a common format. The format is intended to assist the learner to understand the objectives and the alternative ways in which he may proceed through instructional experiences toward the successful completion of the objectives.

In the design of the module system, feedback is a major component. It provides the learner with reinforcement and immediate opportunity for remediation. The feedback mechanism makes the system responsive because it requires interaction between the developer of the module or the instructor using the module and the student himself. The module to some extent forces the learner to make choices and then follow them through; consequently, he tends to seek advice from the teacher. Thus, they meet frequently on a one-to- one basis. This contributes to the personalization and individuation of instruction, even the tailoring of some aspects of modules to the learner's individual needs, a great boon in our so often depersonalized schools of higher learning.

Because the competencies expected are spelled out in the form of objectives, problems of accountability are minimized. Both students and the programs can demonstrate success in visible, assessable ways. Management can be made systematic, efficient, and simple enough to contribute to the quality of the program and to the educational development of each program participant.

Simplification may seem a strange outcome of the use of instructional modules in the light of the seven criteria for each module and the vast number of modules required. Yet simplification of a very important kind does result from the use of properly planned modules. The elements of a module are specific enough that where objectives are not fulfilled the module can be inspected, its parts evaluated, and its point of breakdown rather quickly found and remedied. If a module does work, but not to the teacher's liking, evaluation part by part and then an overall view can help the teacher build in a new element or reorganize those already there to achieve the results desired . . . Here we find a great point of superiority of competency based teacher education over the older styles of teacher education with their vagueness and subjectivity in the area of "product" or changes in the person being taught.

The competency based teacher education approach focuses on what the students are able to do after instruction rather than on performance prior to instruction. Stated in another way, the exit requirements are much more important than the entrance requirements. This means that students who have great potential as teachers but who found standard, campus based programs and campus life more than they could handle, have a new and better chance than before to become teachers. However, Teacher Corps still requires at least two years of college credit for entrance.

Competency based teacher education offers a number of advantages to Native Americans and others of minority groups who wish to learn to teach. First, of course, is the fact that recruitment of minority people is actively pursued in the name of the Teacher Corps. Then, the interns actually work in schools and with people of their own ethnic and geographical backgrounds. They can work with theory, in the classroom, as soon as they are taught it, and competency based teacher education training gives the trainee a knowledge of his competencies so that he can hold up his head in a certain amount of pride at his accomplishment. Each competency he achieves gives him new, solid ground for new educational experiences so that eventually he finds pleasure in learning and can take ease in his relationships with pupils and his own classmates. This all leads to good expectations of successful completion of internship and a greatly reduced likelihood of teacher turnover on the reservation, in the barrio, and wherever else the "new" teacher may have come from, for he has in effect been there all along.

The minority group recruit, whether American Indian, Chicano, Black, or Appalachian, develops direct contacts with the university or teacher education college on which his branch of Teacher Corps is based. He brings with him significant knowledge of the community and his people. Thus, the higher educational institutions get input that helps them improve their offerings, both in kind and quality, while the trainee carries out with him the broader concepts and clearer, deeper insights he has gained at the university.

The Teacher Corps has actively taken up the challenge of preparing teachers for work with children of low-income areas and of changing attitudes, methods, and programs of schools of education across the country. Competency based teacher education puts the best tools so far into the hands of the prospective teacher, but it makes very heavy demands on the teacher training institutions. One point of real difficulty is the seemingly simple need to schedule modules of instruction which do not always fit tidily into semesters or weekly hour schemes, especially when students take very different lengths of time to accomplish the work of a cluster of modules. Colleges of all sorts still find truly individual scheduling and individualized instruction almost agonizingly difficult because of their own built in rigidities.

The Teacher Corps has begun to get some flexibility into schools which have taken up the Corps' challenge. It has begun to get people in the communities to take responsibility for some aspects of the school, its program, and its interaction with the community at large. It has begun to retrain teachers on the job and to put new, competent teachers into areas where only the best can do the job required. It has also been used to accomplish such things as introducing kindergartens into a school district, establishing educational programs for young offenders in a state prison, and preparing curriculum for African studies.

At the university level there has been a break in the academic isolation in which schools of education have operated, and faculties are getting into closer contact with the realities of the classrooms for which they prepare teachers.

Many universities have revised their teacher education curricula so that there is a signficant shift away from the traditional lecture-library coursework toward seminars, credit for classroom experience, and work in the community. Most important, these changes are being incorporated into the regular program for student teachers.

Similar advances are being made in the lower schools though not quite to the same degree. The use of teacher aides and volunteers has increased; inservice training of regular staff has increased; new curricula have been introduced and old ones modified; new staffing patterns have been attempted; and bilingual and culturally oriented instruction has been introduced or increased where it already existed.

There have been gains in the interrelation between the schools and their meetings for whatever purposes, by formation of parent tutoring groups, by the willineness of parents to volunteer classroom services, and by the lower dropout and absentee rates. Teacher Corps also brings hope to the communities because it has set up a ladder for career oriented minority people and by granting a weekly stipend to interns actually enables students to set foot on some of the rungs for upward mobility.

Teacher Corps has done much, especially in establishing CBTE; it can and will do more to improve education in low-income areas and to change for the better the schools of teacher mobility.

With the proper professional preparation, Indian people should eventually be controlling their own educational destiny and have full self-determination.

APPENDIX I: A CHRONOLOGY OF PIVOTAL DATES IN INDIAN EDUCATION 1568-1975

The purpose of this chronology is to sequentially portray major congressional acts, systems of control, and educational systems, together with Indian-controlled educational systems in organizations, in the three principal epochs of American Indian education. These three are the epoch of evangelical control, the epoch of federal control, and lastly the epoch of Indian control. This chronology is intended to illuminate the landscape of all key elements and components within each epoch.

THE EPOCH OF EVANGELICAL CONTROL

1568	Society of Jesus establishes a school in Havana, Cuba for the Indians of Florida.
1617	Moor's Charity School founded as a training school for the education of youth of Indian tribes and of English youth and others at Lebanon, Conn. (Later becomes Dartmouth College.)
1723	William and Mary College opens special house for Indian students.
1775	Continental Congress approves $500 to educate Indians at Dartmouth College.
1778	Sept. 17, 1778, the first treaty between the United States and an Indian Nation was signed with the Delawares. (Until 1871, treaties will establish the main legal basis for federal policies with respect to Indian education.)

1802	Congress approves appropriations — not to exceed $15,000 annually — to "promote civilization among the savages." Cherokees and Choctaws soon develop their own systems of schools and academies.
1819	Early Civilization Fund authorized by Congress is given to the Indian agencies for the purpose of having Christian missionaries "civilize" and "Christianize" the American Indian population, in the amount of $10,000, fixing the educational tone till the 1870s.
1824	Indian Service created in the War Department.
1832	Post of Commissioner of Indian Affairs established.
1834	Department of Indian Affairs organized under the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834.
1842	Number of federal Indian schools reaches 37.
1849	Department of Indian Affairs placed in Department of the Interior because of the nature of Indian lands.
1860	First federal boarding school established on the Yakima Indian Reservation in Washington State.
1865	Congressional committee recommends creation of boarding schools away from Indian communities, with emphasis on agricultural training for students.

THE EPOCH OF FEDERAL CONTROL

1870	Federal appropriation of $100,000 authorized to operate federal industrial schools for Indians.
1871	Treaty-making period with Indian Nations ends. Enforced Indian welfare dependency ensues.
1873	Congressional repeal of missionary society subsidies.

1878	First 17 young Indians, released as prisoners of war from Fort Marion, Fla., begin to attend Hampton Normal and Industrial Institute at Hampton, Va. Special "Wigwam" building constructed in the same year for Indian students, who would continue to attend the school until 1923.
1879	Carlisle Indian School established at Carlisle, Pa., by Gen. R.H. Pratt at an abandoned Army barracks, constituting the first off-reservation Indian school enrolling children from the West and Midwest.
1881	Number of federal Indian schools reaches 106. (By 1892, 12 boarding schools would be established which would suppress use of Indian languages and practice of Indian religions.)
1882	Congress provides that abandoned military posts be turned into Indian schools.
1882	Haskell Indian School established at Lawrence, Kan.
1885	Moravian mission school established at Bethel, Alaska.
1885	Lumbees establish their own school system in North Carolina.
1887	Lumbees establish Old Main Indian College at Pembroke, N.C.
1890	Federal tuition offered to public schools to educate a few Indian children.
1892	Commissioner of Indian Affairs authorized to make and enforce regulations pertaining to attendance of Indian children at schools established and maintained for them.
1892	Federal teachers and physicians placed under U.S. Civil Service.

1894	Congress prohibits the sending of Indian children to schools outside the state or territory of their residence without the consent of their parents or natural guardians, and forbids the withholding of rations as a technique of securing parental consent in an act of Aug., 15.
1895	Congress provides that Indians cannot be taken from a school in any state or territory to a school in another state against their will or written consent of parents.
1906	Congress abolishes Oklahoma Cherokee school system.
1916	Uniform course of study introduced into all federal Indian schools.
1918	Federal educational services limited to children of one-quarter or more Indian blood under the terms of the Appropriation Act of May 25, 1918.
1920	Indian students in public schools outnumber students in federal schools for the first time.
1921	*Snyder Act*. This act authorized program services to Indian people through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a primary legislative authority for the financial resources of the BIA school system into the 1970s.
1928	*Meriam Report*. This report, prepared under the direction of Dr. Lewis Meriam for the U.S. Congress, altered the federal approach to Indian education.
1934	*JohnsonO'Malley Act*. This act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to make contracts with any state, territory, political subdivision and other non-profit agencies for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance and welfare of Indians. The impact of the act was such as to get states to take an interest in the education of Indians by providing federal aid to states to ease the impact of tax-free Indian lands on a state's willingness to provide a variety of services to Indians.

1934	Congress authorizes loans to Indians for payment of tuition and other expenses in recognized vocational and trade schools and loans to Indian students in high schools and colleges.
1936	BIA publication, *Indian Education,* initiated on a semi-monthly basis at Haskell Indian School as a student project.
1950	Impact Aid and Public School Construction Amendments. Grants provided through these acts afford general operating resources to public school districts enrolling Indian children whose parents either live or work on federal property. By amendments to these two pieces of legislation (P.L. 815 and P.L. 874) many eligible school districts become those which enroll Indian children living on Indian reservations.
1950	Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act passed in an effort to provide schools to the two tribes.
1952	Congress passes a program to relocate Indians away from the reservations in line with the impending policy of termination of U.S.-Indian relations with some tribes.
1953	House Concurrent Resolution 108 inaugurates Termination Era. BIA ends operation of all federal schools in Washington, Idaho, Michigan and Wisconsin. California and Oregon assume full responsibility for Indian education. BIA boarding school system, however, is expanded.
1953	Congress authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to transfer federal Indian schools to Indians and non-Indians on June 14.
1955	Indian leaders begin to participate in curriculum revision in federal Indian schools.
1956	Congress expands vocational educational program of adult Indians residing on or near reservations on Aug. 3, designed to strengthen the relocation program of Indians.
1960	President Dwight D. Eisenhower instructs the Secretary of the Interior to accelerate efforts to provide schools for all Indian children.

1960	United Scholarship Service founded in Denver, Colo., to assist Indian undergraduate students in higher education pursuits.
1960	Rocky Boys School opens in Montana reservation under an Indian Board of Education.
1961	American Indian Chicago Conference declares "responsibility of preserving our precious heritage."
1962	Institute of American Indian Arts created in Santa Fe, N.M., using remodelled facilities of an older boarding school to provide high school arts programs and post-high school vocational arts programs.

THE EPOCH OF INDIAN CONTROL

1964	American Indian Historical Society, an organization of Indian historians and scholars, founded in San Francisco, Calif., to correct erroneous school textbook portrayals of the American Indian and to portray the history of American Indians by Indian historians themselves, in both book and journal forms.
1964	*Economic Opportunity Act*. This act provided for new programs for the participation of Indian children and adults, including Head Start, Upward Bound, Job Corps, Vista, and the Indian Community Action Program.
1965	*Elementary and Secondary Education Act*. This act was designed to benefit all disadvantaged youth in America. In 1966, Title I of this act was amended to include the BIA. Title III was also to include the BIA. Title IV provided for regional educational laboratories for development of new and more effective programs for Indian students, both public and federal.
1966	First Indian Teacher Corps projects begun at Niobrara, Macy and Winnebago, Nebr., in Indian country.
1966	Rough Rock Demonstration School opens on Navajo Nation at Chinle, Ariz., under the control of an elected Navajo Board of Education.

1967	BIA establishes National Indian Education Advisory Committee.
1967	Sen. Paul Fannin, Arizona Republican, urges the establishment of a Special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education in a letter to Education Subcommittee Chairman Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon. This is set up by S. Res. 165.
1968	Number of federal Indian schools reaches 226.
1968	Sen. Robert F. Kennedy, Massachusetts Democrat, begins Senate probe into Indian education.
1968	First all-Indian Teacher Corps projects begun in Arizona, Wisconsin, Wyoming, Alaska, Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota and Washington state, with a continuation of the Nebraska projects.
1968	Navajo Community College founded at Tsaile, Ariz.
1968	President Lyndon B. Johnson directs the BIA in March to establish advisory school boards at all federal Indian schools.
1969	BIA implements Project T.R.I.B.E. to yield considerable school control to Indian communities and tribes, and issues school board handbook.
1969	*Indian Education: A National Tragedy – A National Challenge*, Special Senate Subcommittee Report on Indian Education released, recommending increased Indian control of education, creation of an exemplary federal school system, and establishment of a National Indian Board of Education.
1969	First Indian Studies curriculum developed in California.
1970	Ramah High School opens at Ramah, N.M., the first Indian-controlled high school of the late twentieth century.

1970	National Indian Education Association, a union of Indian teachers, educators and scholars, formed in Minneapolis, Minn.
1970	President Richard M. Nixon announces an era of Indian control over decisions affecting Indians, including the field of education.
1970	Haskell Institute becomes Haskell Indian Junior College at Lawrence, Kansas.
1970	First national convocation of Indian scholars sponsored by the American Indian Historical Society held at Princeton, N.J.
1971	Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, Inc., formed in Boulder, Colo.
1971	American Indian Scholarships, Inc., founded in Albuquerque, N.M., by Indians to assist the Indian graduate student in selected areas of study.
1971	Lakota Higher Education Center established for the Oglala Sioux at Pine Ridge, S.D.
1971	Sinte Gleska College Center created for the Rosebud Sioux at Rosebud, S.D.
1971	Hehaka Sapa College established for Indian students of many tribes at D-Q University, a joint Mexican-American and Indian institution, at Davis, Calif.
1971	Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute administered by the BIA opens in Alburquerque, N.M.
1972	*Indian Education Act of 1972*. U.S. Office of Education in HEW directed to special needs of all Indian students in public schools with 10 or more Indian students. Priority funding given to Indian tribes and organizations in use of discretionary program money. National Advisory Council on Indian Education established to oversee provisions of the law, set program priorities and assess Indian education throughout federal establishment. Act enables USOE to begin active work with Indian community colleges. Set-asides authorized for training of teachers of Indian children.

1972	American Indian Higher Education Consortium formed in Boulder, Colo., by members of the Boards of Regents of the new Indian community colleges.
1972	Turtle Mountain Community College created at Belcourt, N.D. for the Montana Chippewa Tribe.
1972	Standing Rock Community College established for the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe at Fort Yates, N.D.
1973	Number of federal Indian schools drops from a high in 1968 of 226 to 195.
1973	National Advisory Council on Indian Education members appointed by President Richard M. Nixon, under terms of the Indian Education Act of 1972.
1973	First tribally authored tribal histories appear, published by the Southern Utes, Navajos, Nez Perce and Zuni, among others.
1973	American Indian Satellite Community College for the Omaha, Winnebago and Santee Tribes of Nebraska opens at Norfolk, Nebr.
1974	Navajo Community College facilities dedicated at Tsaile, Ariz., marking completed construction of the first Indian-owned and operated college in North America.
1974	Fort Berthold Community College Center opens at New Town, N.D., for Mandan, Hidatsa and Arickara Tribes.
1974	Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College opens at Sisseton, S.D., for the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux.
1975	The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act.

APPENDIX II: INDIAN EDUCATION ORGANIZATIONS

In the 1960s and 1970s, Indians involved in the field of education have chosen to organize for various purposes on a nationwide, regional or state basis. The following are capsule profiles of these organizations.

1. NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

National Indian Education Association
3036 University Avenue S.E.
Minneapolis, Minn. 55414
Tel: (612) 378-0482

Originating from a national convocation of Indian educators in Minneapolis, Minn., in November 1969, NIEA was established as a non-profit corporation in 1970, in the state of Minnesota as an association of those involved in Indian education for the educational, social, economic and cultural benefit of American Indians. Since its inception, NIEA has conducted workshops for educators in applying for educational funds, monitored the legal, social and educational impact of educational systems upon Indian students, assisted in planning curricula for Indian studies and contemporary Indian issues on the university level, assisted in the placement of Indian professionals and paraprofessionals, and served as a clearinghouse on educational materials. It holds an annual national convention. The association is administered by an executive director under a 28-member board of directors.

Among its select projects have been programs for the training of Indian teachers, for the creation of libraries in Indian communities involving the communities themselves, and a research and information project which is computerizing and cataloguing educational and other media materials related to the American Indian. NIEA publishes *Indian Education* and *Project Media Bulletin*.

Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, Inc.

Suite 4—811 Lincoln St.
Denver, Colo. 95501
Tel: (303) 573-9016

Suite 604—927 15th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005
Tel: (202) 638-4422

In October, 1971, seven representatives from four Indian schools met in Boulder, Colo., to discuss the feasibility of creating a coalition of Indian schools concerned with educational reform and to devise a strategy to accomplish that purpose. In December, 1971, this same group formally organized CICSB to undertake a quest for greater control and management of Indian educational systems. Membership consists of local community school boards who actually control their own schools, parent advisory committees who have organized to gain control, JOM committees, and tribal education committees.

The affairs of CICSB are managed by an Executive Committee elected annually by the general membership, consisting of the President, Vice President, Secretary/Treasurer and four other members at large. Financial resources include government and foundation grants, contracts with government agencies, Indian tribes and Indian organizations, as well as grants from private donors.

The CICSB from its inception has held these major objectives: the assertion and defense of the rights of American Indians to self-determination with respect to the education of their children; the provision of necessary legal, technical and community development assistance to Indian groups in creating their own school boards, organizations, and education committees, as well as establishing their own educational institutions; and the training of people in each community to organize and negotiate independently and directly with local state and federal agencies as well as state legislatures and the U.S. Congress; and the service to Indian people in the communities in which they reside. Publishes *Coalition's*, a bimonthly organizational bulletin.

American Indian Higher Education Consortium
1657 Pennsylvania St.
Denver, Colo. 80218
Tel: (303) 892-1881

In October, 1972, the Planning Resources in Minority Education Program of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) in cooperation with the Education for American Indians Office of the U.S. Office of Education convened the directors and presidents of the Boards of Regents of Indian Community Colleges, which had come into existence in 1968, in order to form a consortium. The consortium was then established in December, 1972. The need for such an organization arose from the increase in the number of post-secondary Indian students as well as the apparent inability of the established higher education system to meet the needs of many of these students. Publishes *AIHEC Newsletter*.

AIHEC and its Indian community college members have established common efforts in certain program areas, namely, accreditation, curriculum development, human resources development, cooperative education, research and data, and financial resources. The Denver AIHEC office views itself as a facilitating agency for the provision of technical assistance and training in the above-mentioned program areas with the overall thrust of strengthening the concept of total Indian and community control in educational matters.

Most of the AIHEC colleges are governed by American Indian Boards of Regents. Administrators, faculty and students are predominantly American Indian. Their purposes are to serve tribal needs and to reinforce tribal value systems. They have lacked certain independence to the extent that regional accreditation systems have enforced non-Indian prerequisites upon them. AIHEC has thus sought to establish an accreditation agency.

2. SCHOLARSHIP ORGANIZATIONS

American Indian Scholarships, Inc.
211 Sierra S.E.
Albuquerque, N.M. 87108

A scholarship program established in 1970 to meet the special needs and to be of special assistance to the Indian graduate student, AIS has set itself to increase the number of professionally trained Indians in the areas of medicine, law, education and business administration. Made possible initially in conjunction with the William H. Donner Foundation, initial funding of AIS resulted in generating additional scholarships and supplements by various colleges and universities through their resources of waiver of tuition and fees, other fellowships and the like.

AIS is administered by an Executive Director under the direction of a seven-member Board of Directors, itself consisting of nationally known and experienced Indian men and women charged with developing policies, procedural guidelines, scholarship selection and determination of grants with the assistance of the director of the program.

AIS regularly publishes the *AIS Newsletter* in Albuquerque.

United Scholarship Service
P.O. Box 18421
Capitol Hill Station
Denver, Colo. 80218
Tel: (303) 222-3841

An all-Indian scholarship program created in 1960 to meet the needs of Indian undergraduate students, USS has provided grants and quality educational opportunities to Native American students as well as counselling and placement services. USS has also endeavored, with marked success since 1960, to provide both students and parents a voice in the education of Native Americans. USS has also directed community-based research programs involving students and has provided services to Native American men in prison. Many USS-associated Indian men and women have moved into critical positions of responsibility in the 1960s and 1970s. USS publishes the bi-monthly *USS News*.

3. STATE EDUCATION ASSOCIATIONS

California Indian Education Association
P.O. Box 4095
Modesto, Calif. 95352

Montana Indian Education Association
Eastern Montana College
Billings, Mont. 59101
Tel: (406) 248-7131

Oklahoma Indian Education Association

North Dakota Indian Education Association

South Dakota Indian Education Association

4. FEDERAL ADVISORY COUNCILS

National Advisory Council on Indian Education
Room 326—Pennsylvania Building
425 13th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20004
Tel: (202) 963-3598

The NACIE, formed in 1973 under the mandate of the Indian Education Act of 1972, consists of 15 Indian members appointed by the President of the United States. NACIE retains an executive director with staff.

APPENDIX III: AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITY COLLEGES

ESTABLISHED

1968 Navajo Community College
Tasaile Rural Post Office
Tasaile, Ariz. 86503
Tel: (602) 724-8311

1971 Lakota Higher Education Center
P.O. Box 439
Pine Ridge, S.D. 57770
Tel: (605) 867-5815

1971 Sinte Gleska College Center
P.O. Box 37
Rosebud, S.D. 57570
Tel: (605) 747-2263

1971 Hehaka Sapa College
D-Q University
P.O. Box 409
Davis, Calif. 95616
Tel: (916) 758-0470

1972 Turtle Mountain Community College
P.O. Box 340
Belcourt, N.D. 58316
Tel: (701) 477-5691

1972 Standing Rock Community College
P.O. Box 450
Fort Yates, N.D. 58538
Tel: (701) 854-6596

1973 American Indian Satellite Community College
801 East Benjamin Ave.
Norfolk, Nebr. 68701
Tel: (402) 371-2020

1974 Fort Berthold College Center
New Town, N.D. 58763
Tel: (701) 627-4841

1974 Cheyenne River Community College
P.O. Box 6
Eagle Butte, S.D. 57625
Tel: (605) 964-6556

1974 Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College
Tribal Education Office
Sisseton-Wahpeton Tribe
Sisseton, S.D. 57262
Tel: (605) 698-3951

APPENDIX IV: TREATIES DEALING WITH INDIAN EDUCATION

Treaty of August 18, 1804, with Delaware Tribe, 7 Stat. 81; treaty of August 29, 1821, with Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, 7 Stat. 218: treaty of February 12, 1825, with Creek Nation, 7 Stat. 237; treaty of February 8, 1831, with the Menominee Indians, 7 Stat. 342; treaty of September 21, 1833, with the Otoes and Missourias, 7 Stat. 429; treaty of March 2, 1836, with the Ottawa and Chippewa, 7 Stat. 491; treaty of September 17, 1836, with the Sacs and Foxes, etc., 7 Stat. 511; treaty of October 15, 1836, with the Otoes, etc., 7 Stat. 524; treaty of January 4, 1845, with the Creeks and Seminoles, 9 Stat. 821, 822; treaty of October 13, 1846, with the Winnebago Indians, 9 Stat. 878; treaty of August 2, 1847, with the Chippewas, 9 Stat. 904; treaty of October 18, 1848, with the Menominee Tribe, 9 Stat. 952; treaty of July 23, 1851, with the Sioux, 10 Stat. 949; treaty of August 5, 1851, with the Sioux Indians, 10 Stat. 954; treaty of May 12, 1854; with the Menominee, 10 Stat. 1064; treaty of December 26, 1854, with the Nisqually, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1132; treaty of October 17, 1855, with the Blackfoot Indians, 11 Stat. 657; treaty of September 24, 1857, with the Pawnees, 11 Stat. 729; treaty of January 22, 1855, with The Dwamish, etc., 12 Stat. 927; treaty of January 26, 1855, with the S'Klallams, 12 Stat. 933; treaty of January 31, 1855, with Makah Tribe, 12 Stat. 939; treaty of July 1, 1855, with the Qui-nai-elt, etc., Indians, 12 Stat. 971; treaty of July 16, 1855, with the Flathead, etc., Indians, 12 Stat. 975; treaty of December 21, 1855, with the Molels, 12 Stat. 981; treaty of October 18, 1864, with the Chippewa Indians, 14 Stat. 657; treaty of June 14, 1866, with the Creek Nation, 14 Stat. 785; treaty of February 18, 1867, with the Sac and Fox Indians, 15 Stat. 495; treaty of February 19, 1867, with the Sissiton, etc., Sioux, 15 Stat. 505.

Treaty of May 6, 1828, with the Cherokee Nation, 7 Stat. 311; treaty of New Echota, December 29, 1835, with the Cherokee, 7 Stat. 478 (provides for common schools and "* a literacy institution of a higher order***"); treaty of June 5 and 17, 1846, with the Pottowautomie Nation, 9 Stat. 853; treaty of September 30, 1854, with the Chippewa Indians, 10 Stat. 1109; treaty of November 18, 1854, with the Chastas, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1122; treaty of April 19, 1858, with the Yancton Sioux, 11 Stat. 743; treaty of June 9, 1855, with the Walla-Wallas, etc., tribes, 12 Stat. 945; treaty of June 11, 1855, with the Nez Perces, 12 Stat. 957; treaty of March 12, 1858, with the Poncas, 12 Stat. 997; treaty of October 14, 1865, with the Lower Brule Sioux, 14 Stat. 699; treaty of February 23, 1867, with the Senecas, etc., 15 Stat. 513; treaty of October 21, 1867, with the Kiowa and Comanche Indians, 15 Stat. 581; treaty of October 21, 1867, with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, 15 Stat. 589; treaty of October 28, 1867, with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians, 15 Stat. 593; treaty of March 2, 1868, with the Ute Indians, 15 Stat. 619; treaty of April 29 et seq., 1868, with the Sioux Nation, 15 Stat. 635; treaty of May 7, 1868, with the Crow Indians, 15 Stat. 649; treaty of May 10, 1868, with the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapahoe Indians, 15 Stat. 655; treaty of June 1, 1868, with the Navajo Tribe, 15 Stat. 667; treaty of July 3, 1868 with the Eastern Band Shoshones and Bannock Tribe of Indians, 15 Stat. 673.

Treaty of November 15, 1827, with the Creek Nation, 7 Stat. 307; treaty of September 15, 1832, with the Winnebago Nation, 7 Stat. 370; treaty of May 24, 1834, with the Chickasaw Indians, 7 Stat. 450; treaty of June 9, 1863, with the Nez Perce Tribe, 14 Stat. 647; treaty of March 19, 1867, with the Chippewa of Mississippi, 16 Stat. 719.

Treaty of October 18, 1820, with the Choctaw Nation, 7 Stat. 210; treaty of June 3, 1825, with the Kansas Nation, 7 Stat. 244; treaty of August 5, 1926, with the Chippewa Tribe, 7 Stat. 290; treaty of October 21, 1837, with the Sac and Fox Indians, 7 Stat. 543; treaty of March 17, 1842, with the Wyandott Nation, 11 Stat. 581; treaty of May 15, 1846, with the Comanche, etc., Indians, 9 Stat. 844; treaty of June 5, 1854, with the Miami Indians, 10 Stat. 1093; treaty of November 15, 1854, with the Rogue Rivers, 10 Stat. 1119; treaty of November 29, 1854, with the Umpqua, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1125; treaty of July 31, 1855, with the Ottowas and Chippewas, 11 Stat. 621; treaty of February 5, 1856, with the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes, 11 Stat. 663; treaty of June 9, 1855, with the Yakima Indians, 12 Stat. 951; treaty of June 25, 1855, with the Oregon Indians, 12 Stat. 963; treaty of June 19, 1858, with the Sioux bands, 12 Stat. 1031; treaty of July 16, 1859, with the Chippewa bands, 12 Stat. 1105; treaty of February 18, 1861, with the Arapahoes and Cheyenne Indians, 12 Stat. 1163; treaty of March 6, 1861, with the Sacs, Foxes and Iowas, 12 Stat. 1171; treaty of June 24, 1862, with the Ottawa Indians, 12 Stat. 1237; treaty of May 7, 1864, with the Chippewas, 13 Stat. 693; treaty of August 12, 1865, with the Snake Indians, 14 Stat. 683; treaty of March 21, 1866, with the Seminole Indians, 14 Stat. 755; treaty of April 28, 1866, with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nation, 14 Stat. 769; treaty of August 13, 1868, with the Nez Perce Tribe, 15 Stat. 693.

Treaty of October 16, 1826, with the Potawatomie Tribe, 7 Stat. 295; treaty of September 20, 1828, Potawatamie Indians, 7 Stat. 317; treaty of July 15, 1830, with the Sacs and Foxes, etc., 7 Stat. 328; treaty of September 27, 1830, with the Choctaw Nation, 7 Stat. 333; treaty of March 24, 1832, with the Creek Tribe, 7 Stat. 366; treaty of February 14, 1833, with the Creek Nation, 7 Stat. 417; treaty of January 14, 1846, with the Kansas Indians, 9 Stat. 842; treaty of April 1, 1850, with the Wyandot Tribe, 9 Stat. 987; treaty of March 15, 1854, with the Delaware Tribe, 10 Stat. 1048; treaty of May 10, 1854, with the Shawnees, 10 Stat. 1053; treaty of May 17, 1854, with the Ioway Tribe, 10 Stat. 1069; treaty of May 30, 1854, with the Kaskaskia, etc., Indians, 10 Stat. 1082; treaty of January 22, 1855, with the Williamette Bands, 10 Stat. 1143; treaty of February 22, 1855, with the Chippewa Indians of Mississippi, 10 Stat. 1165; treaty of June 22, 1855, with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians, 11 Stat. 611; treaty of August 2, 1855, with the Chippewa Indians of Saginaw, 11 Stat. 633; treaty of August 7, 1856, with the Creeks and Seminoles, 11 Stat. 699; treaty of June 28, 1862, with the Kickapoo Tribe, 13 Stat. 623; treaty of October 2, 1863, with the Chippewa Indians (Red Lake and Pembina Bands), 13 Stat. 667; treaty of September 29, 1865, with the Osage Indians, 14 Stat. 687. (6) p. 271-272

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AIS Newsletter. American Indian Scholarships, Inc., 211 Sierra S.E., Albuquerque, N.M.

BIA Education Dialogue. Education Division, Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1951 Constitution Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20242. Tel: (202) 343-7616.

Coalition's. Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards, Suite 4, 811 Lincoln St., Denver, Colo. 95501. Tel: (303) 573-9016.

Early American. California Indian Education Assn. P.O. Box 4095, Modesto, Calif. 95552.

Education Journal. Institute for the Development of Indian Law, Suite 612, 927 15th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005. Tel: (202) 638-2287.

Focus: Indian Education. Indian Education Section, Capitol Square Bldg., St. Paul, Minn. 55101. Tel: (612) 296-3495.

IERC Bulletin. Indian Education Resources Center; Bureau of Indian Affairs, P.O. Box 788, Albuquerque, N.M. 87103.

Indian Education. National Indian Education Assn., 3036 University Ave. S.E., Suite 3, Minneapolis, Minn. 55414. Tel: (612) 378-0482.

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Institute of Indian Studies Bulletin. University of South Dakota, P.O. Box 73, Vermillion, S.D. 57069.

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Whispering Arrow. Northern Indian California Educational Project Newsletter, 526 A St., Eureka, Calif. 95501. Tel: (707) 443-4858.

Wiche Newsletter. Planning Resource in Minority Education, P.O. Drawer P, Boulder, Colo. 80302. Tel: (303) 449-3333.

INDIAN DESIGNS

Illustrative material adapted from:
Authentic Indian Designs, Edited by Maria Naylor
American Indian Design & Decoration, Leroy H. Appleton
Both are Dover Publications

Chapter 1: 1) Engraved Stone, Mississippi
2) Mimbres Pottery
3) Border Design/Pueblo Pottery

Chapter 2: 1) Engraved Shell, Tennessee area
2) Border Design/Hopi Wedding Shawl

Chapter 3: 1) Hawikuh Pottery
2) Border Design/Pueblo Pottery

Chapter 4: 1) Mimbres Pottery
2) Border Design/Ojibway Beadwork

Chapter 5: 1) Pueblo design for interior of a food bowl
2) Border design/Ojibway

Chapter 6: 1) Stone disk from Carthage, Alabama
2) Border Design/Santa Ana

Chapter 7: 1) Engraved Shell, Tennessee area
2) Border Design/Ojibway
3) Winged human figure engraved on copper plate/from Etowah Mound, Georgia

Chapter 8: 1) Engraving on copper plate/Etowah Mound, Georgia
2) Border Design/Menomini Beadwork

Chapter 9: 1) Incised Pottery, Louisiana area
2) Border Design/Sauk & Fox

Chapter 10: 1) Stamped Pottery/Southern Appalachian
2) Border Design/Menomimi

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Chapter 3:	a) Photo by Anne Finch
Chapter 4:	a) Photo no. 75-L-20B (BIA) b) Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, Bureau of American Ethnology Collection
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